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"On the following day, early in the afternoon, we arrived at the house where the feast was to take place. Having given in good time the necessary signal with the cow's horn we entered the house where the usual greeting ceremonies were exchanged. It was incumbent on Don Dionysio to explain who I was, what the object of my visit, and to ask permission for us to be present at the approaching great feast. The Indians of course are just as disinclined to receive uninvited guests at their feasts as are civilized people, particularly as they always fear evil supernatural influences from strangers. The fact that the host Shakaëma not only received us in a friendly way but even gave us permission to stay in the house the whole time the feast lasted, was due, partly to the eloquence of my companion, but perhaps still more to the presents I gave him and the other members of the family. Shakaëma himself got a nice machete (forest-knife), and each of his wives a collar of beads, needles, thread, and small round mirrors being distributed among the other members of the family. Shakaëma was quite pleased and declared that he had in fact known that a party of strangers would arrive, for he had taken natéma some days ago and seen us in a dream. Shakaëma was a man of about fifty-five or sixty years old, a professional warrior and sorcerer, who in fact enjoyed a bad reputation among his neighbours, and was greatly feared by his many enemies anong other Jibaro tribes. With his three full-grown sons, who also lived in the house, and a party of other Indians from among his kinsmen, he had two years before made war upon a tribe living on the Copataza. The attack had been successful in so far as a head had been captured, and this happy incident had to be celebrated with a feast. When an attack has been successfully carried out, the victor *par excellence* is the warrior who has cut off the head of the enemy killed. This happy lot had fallen to one of Shakaëma's sons, a youth of 18 or 20 years, who was consequently the principal person at the feast. As is [60] the rule in similar cases, the young man was in the dress of a penitent, wore only his loin-cloth and no ornament or facial paintings and had his long hair hanging loose down the back. Similarly he had to diet himself strictly.

While we were conversing with Shakaëma and his son about the coming feast, the women of the house, that is to say, Shakaëma's two wives, two of his daughters and one daughter-in-law, were mixing the manioc substance in clay vessels partly filled with water, and handing this favourite beer of the Indians round to the guests in the house. My companions from Macas appreciated it almost as much as did the Indians themselves, but for my own part I only took a draught from the vessel offered me and return it again to my hostess. My moderation caused my hosts some displeasure, but I diverted their attention from this topic by showing them some of the things I had brought with me. Many of these as usual awakened the curiosity and fear of the Indians. My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an *iguanchi* (evil spirit) would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed. 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaëma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the *tsantsa*, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father. [61]

The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the

Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report.

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Having been allowed to be present at the feast, I had placed my field-bed at one of the big pillars in the middle of the house. Since, as I found later on, the chief dance during the feast was performed every night round the central pillars of the house, I had to spend my nights in the middle of the dancing Indians and consequently could hardly think of sleeping. The Indians, it should be understood, start to dance as soon as darkness sets in and continue until dawn, or about five o'clock, and they accompany their dance by constant chanting and shouting. Since the main feast lasted for six days and nights, it will be easily understood that participating in an Indian scalp-feast is really a feat of strength and endurance. The first night I had no rest at all; the ghastly dance, saturated with mystery and performed amid a dreadful noise, impressed me too much and, besides, there were many interesting things to watch and note down. The following night it was about the same. But the [62] third night I decided to sleep, put cotton wool in my ears, and gave some of it to my companions also. Tired to the utmost I really succeeded in sleeping a few hours in spite of the noisy dance going on around me. Still at five o'clock in the morning when I awoke some of the women went on dancing and chanting their monotonous óa...óa--óa-á...aó, as they had done all the night. I could not even notice that they were hoarse, which greatly struck me. At six o'clock the whole party, both men and women, rushed down to the river and had a bathe, and with this the night's ceremony was over--to begin again in the following

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evening.

From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaëma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
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warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house.

Nevertheless a white man, visiting the savage Jibaros on an occasion like this, has to be extremely careful in dealing with the Indians. This is best shown by the following incident which took place at the end of the feast, and which could easily have led to most serious consequences. One of the ceremonies at the great victory feast, as we shall see later on, is the slaughter of the swine and the hens, which takes place the day before the feast ends. In the evening the hosts and hostesses were engaged [63] in cooking the meat in big clay pots placed on different fires all round on the earthen floor. I saw an Indian moving a boiling clay pot to adjust it--when suddenly he fell backwards, shouting loudly, with the pot, which was broken and poured out a part of its hot contents upon him, whereupon he dropped down on the floor and remained lying in convulsions with the mouth open. There arose a terrible hubbub and excitement. All at first thought that he had only been burned, and so I believed myself also, although the symptoms seemed to me strange. My first intention was to give the Indian what help I could, but I was warned by my more experienced companions not to do anything. They told me, what aferwards I really found to be true, that if among the Jibaros someone undertakes to cure a patient, and the latter nevertheless dies, the physician will unfailingly be made responsible for the death, the law of blood-revenge being applied to him. Such is the logic of these Indians. In any case the cause of the accident had to be cleared up,

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and it was characteristic of the Indian train of thought that the worst consequences were anticipated. 'He will die, he will die', one of the women exclaimed in a heart-piercing voice. 'Why has he burned himself, why must he die', were questions which arose from all sides, and these strange questions were particularly addressed to me. Soon the questions became indirect or direct accusations. 'Why must he die'?, the host of the house asked vehemently, turning towards me. --'He has only burned himself', I answered, 'he will not die but recover.'--'No, the Indian replied, 'he has not burned himself, it was something else; what was it that flew into him in the same moment as he fell?' I began to realize the danger of the situation and my interpreter who fully understood the language of the Indians realized it still better. The Indians looked upon me as a powerful strange medicine-man and it was clear that they believed that I had bewitched their comrade. I saw them assembled in groups and conversing in commotion, now and then pointing at me and my companions and looking at us with threatening looks and gestures. Of course, I was the person against whom their wrath would turn in the first place. Several circumstances arousing suspicion were moreover mentioned to my interpreter. Thus the Indian who had been the first to tell me about the feast had shortly afterwards fallen ill with a fever so that he had not been able to be present at the feast at all.

Probably the white man had brought the sickness with him. Another Indian who had engaged to carry a part of my luggage on my return, had afterwards accidentally cut himself in the foot, causing a gaping wound, and so forth. [64]

The situation was not enviable. I was almost alone far away in the virgin forest, in the midst of fifty or sixty savage Indians, all professional murderers so to speak, all more or less drunk and excited, all well armed even with firearms, Indians whose brutality and revengeful spirit when witchcraft is in question I knew sufficiently well. The principal thing in such a situation is to remain perfectly calm and show no fear. I did not even look at my own gun and rifle which were standing in a corner of the house, and I pretended not to understand the accusations of the Indians at all, making light of the incident and declaring that the Indian would soon recover. It was lucky that my companions behaved in the same way and that my interpreter proved so clever in Indian 'diplomacy' as he did. Still I understood that my own fate very probably depended on the fate of the sick Indian. He had been carried to a corner of the house where he had ultimately fallen asleep. The Indians seemed gradually to become calmer and at last even began to dance. As for myself, it was many hours before I could compose myself to sleep, since of course it was uncertain what turn the illness of the Indian would take. The following morning, however, the condition of the patient was much better; he had recovered consciousness and the power of speech and was himself able to give an explanation of the accident. His burns were insignificant, but he had evidently had a heart attack and had fallen in consequence. Of course, even this attack, according to the Indians' way of reasoning, had some mysterious cause; but the fact that the man did not die but recovered made the incident lose its importance, and it was quite probable that this happy issue saved my own life. It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder.

The cause of the heart attack to which the Indian very nearly fell a victim must no doubt be sought in the fact that the Indians at their feasts consume tremendous quantities of tobacco water, which is very likely to affect the health of persons suffering from a weak heart.

Experiences of this kind however made me long to get away from the house and the noisy feast as soon as possible. Happily it was to be concluded on the following day, and having witnessed the last ceremony, the 'Dressing of the victor', and the final ceremonial drinking-bout I took leave of my host and his family to continue my journey to the upper Pastaza. Shakaéma was now quite friendly again and behaved as [65] if he had wholly forgotten the incident, which the day before had made him look upon me as an evil witch-doctor and almost as an enemy.

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Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited.

Having finished my studies of the head-feast on the Rio Chiguaza, I did not immediately return to Macas, but continued my journey towards the north, my plan being, first to pay a visit to Canelos, and then to return to civilization for some time via Ambato. To reach Canelos I had first to pass through Arapicos, the small Jibaro village on the river of the same name, thereupon to ascend the small river Pindu, and lastly to continue on foot through the forests for about three days more. My journey, for different reasons, became extremely trying. It had been raining for a couple of days, and the ground through which we had to walk had become like a marsh and the rivers had swollen. There were two rivers that we had to cross to get to Arapicos, a branch of the Chiguaza and the Arapicos itself. The former is not very broad but extremely rapid and can only be crossed by wading. If the water has considerably risen owing to heavy rain, the stream cannot be crossed, or only with great danger. When we arrived at the river, the Indians declared, as I had indeed feared, that it was impossible to cross it then and that we must wait on the bank until the following day. This statement by [66] no means pleased me, especially since we were in danger of running short of food, which could not be obtained in these uninhabited regions. Happily the water seemd [sic] to be sinking, and on the following morning we were able to cross the stream, although with great difficulty. The same day in the afternoon we reached the river Arapicos, and within an hour had crossed over to the other side where the village is situated.

At Arapicos I met one of the Catholic missionaries in the Ecuadorian Oriente, Father

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-13
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Agustín de Leon, whose acquaintance I had made before at Canelos. In his company I undertook an interesting expedition to a big cave situated on the right bank of the Pastaza about one day's journey from Arapicos. The cave is known among the Indians as the tayu-cave, after the bird which inhabits it. This is the guacharo or oil-bird (Steatornis caripensis), called tayu by the Jibaros. Father Leon and I decided to make an excursion to this cave, which had scarcely been visited by any white man before. The whole region, that is to say, the big corner bounded by the Arapicos in the north and the right bank of the Pastaza, is geographically very little known. The only human beings who are in the habit of visiting the tayu-cave regularly are the Jibaro Indians of the district. Their great attraction is the tayu-bird which they appreciate extremely both on account of its meat, which they eat, its oil which they likewise find very useful, and especially its leg-bones from which they prepare the most costly ornament they wear at their feasts, the so-called tayukunchi, to be described later on. Our guides were partly Indians from the mission of Arapicos, partly savage Jibaro Indians from the other side of the river.

The tayu-cave really turned out to be of considerable interest. There are three caves in this tract at some distance from each other, and we decided to penetrate the biggest of them which nevertheless was the one approached with the greatest difficulty. Its entrance was wide, but its position was such that it could not easily be photographed.

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-14
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The cave appeared to consist of different compartments, of which the first one formed a kind of 'hall', as large as a small room. Even here we encountered some of the winged inhabitants of this gloomy place, the guacharo birds which, frightened from their nests and screaming loudly, flew about our heads. It was not, however, until we had penetrated further that it became clear to me what enormous numbers of this bird the cave sheltered.

From the 'hall' mentioned a narrow entrance, through which one had to crawl on all fours, led to the interior of the cave, which here [67] branched off in all directions into the mountain. The danger of going astray in this subterranean labyrinth was great, but we could rely upon the Indians, who were not visiting the cave for the first time. On entering it they had at once kindled their copal torches, by the light of which we cautiously went forwards, following the main branch. The farther we penetrated, the louder became the screaming of the owl-like birds which lived in the cave, and whose number seemed to be constantly increasing. The nests of the birds were high up on the shelves formed by the rocks, in funnel-like holes, and turned out to contain enormous numbers of young. The Indians often climbed up and caught them, putting them quickly in baskets which they had brought for this very purpose. I myself had brought my gun which I fired twice, killing some of the flying birds. The Indians however would not allow me to continue this, fearing lest the walls of the cave should burst in consequence of the dreadful detonation and perhaps also believing that the mysterious spirits of this subterranean dwelling would get angry and punish us. Our stay in the cave lasted for about one hour. We did not go as far as was possible and as far as the Indians have sometimes penetrated the interior when going alone. Taking a considerable number of full-grown birds which had been killed, and a still greater number of young, partly dead, partly living, we again tried to find our way out into the daylight.

How far the cave extends into the interior of the mountain is unknown, since no one has dared to explore it thoroughly. Father Leon and I only penetrated about thirty or forty meters into it. The river Pastaza, which flows at a short distance from the mountain where the cave is situated and the waters of which still at times rise to its level, has of course had a share in its formation. The thorough exploration of the cave would be a most dangerous undertaking owing to its many ramifications. Besides the savage Indians, there is another creature which is in the habit of regularly visiting the tayu-cave, namely, the jaguar. Being a skilful climber, this beast can easily reach the nests of the guacharo birds, although they are situated high up on the rocky shelves, giving himself a nice feast on the young. The Indians who followed us on this trip told us that the last time they visited the cave they had heard the grunting of the jaguar from the interior and had hastily retired.

The guacharo bird was discovered by Alexander v. Humboldt more than a hundred years ago in the Caripe cave in Venezuela, but is known to exist in a few other places, e.g. in the north-west of South America. In Ecuador, as far as I know, the tayu-caves on the Pastaza are the only [68] localities where it exists, so it is a comparatively rare bird. Its mode of life--the guacharo of course is a night-bird--and the gloomy places where it dwells make the Indians look upon it with superstition, which however does not prevent them from eating it. It is supposed to be an incarnation of the souls of the dead, a superstition which also accounts for the mysterious power which its fat and its bones are believed to contain.

Having returned to Arapicos, I stayed there a few more days for the purpose of making studies among the Indians, whereupon I continued my journey to the upper Pastaza, to the point where the small river Pindu empties its waters into it. Pastaza in this region is a broad and very powerful river, forming numerous cataracts and, as I have stated before, does not become navigable until it has received its northern affluent the Bobonaza. The savage Jibaro Indians, extremely skilled as they are in managing canoes, are the only ones who use the waterway when they visit one another or--as has happened very frequently--make hostile attacks on other tribes. Between the Pindu and the Bobonaza there is a third small affluent of the Pastaza from the north, the river Copataza. Here there lived a Jibaro tribe with whom the Chirapas had been at war a couple of years before I arrived. The Chirapas had succeeded in bringing home a head--and it was this head that had given rise to the victory-feast at which I had just been present.

From Arapicos to the Pastaza it is a march of one day and a half through the virgin forest. This region is wholly uninhabited, and consequently unusually rich in game. Wild pigs, deer, monkeys, and all sorts of birds, especially the wild turkey and the curious trumpeter bird (*Psophia crepitans*) are frequently seen and can easily be shot. Even the jaguar is common, as one may judge from the numerous tracks encountered. The first night I had, as usual, to spend in the middle of the forest in a primitive shelter made of palm leaves. In the morning my Indians found that a big jaguar had during the night beaten about our camp, without however daring to attack us. The jaguar in fact avoids man and is therefore seldom seen, although quite common in Eastern Ecuador.

We arrived at the Pastaza at the spot where it receives the small affluent Pindu from the north. Then we crossed the former in a canoe which my Indians had ready for the purpose and started to ascend the Pindu. This river, although carrying comparatively little water, is very rapid and not navigable in the strict sense of the word. To take the canoe up the many cataracts, the Indians have continually to get into [69] the water and pull it over the stones; in fact, they work as much in the water as in the

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-18
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canoe. When the river is running high, which is frequently the case owing to the heavy rains, it cannot be ascended at all. Twice during my journeys from Macas to Canelos I have been delayed on the bank of the Pindu, waiting for the water to go down. The worst place to pass is a cataract called Guineo Sass by the Canelos Indians. Here the canoe has to be pulled up a rock where the water is rushing out with extraordinary force between two other big stones. On the journey I am describing I had a narrow escape from shipwreck in this cataract. I myself had been carried to the shore from where I watched the attempts of the Indians to take the canoe up the violent cataract. Two of them placed themselves above the cataract pulling the canoe by a big liana tied to the front of it, while two more Indians were pushing it from the stern, standing in the rushing water up to the waist. With great difficulty they succeeded in pulling the canoe a few feet up the rock--when suddenly the liana burst and the canoe, which the two Indians at the stern were not able to hold, began to slide down the cataract owing to the pressure of the mass of water. In a moment it was half-filled and was in immediate danger of upsetting, in which case I should have lost all my luggage, among other things all my valuable notes and photographs. My Indians however saved the situation by throwing themselves immediately into the eddy, when they succceeded in keeping the canoe on an even keel until they had pulled it to the shore. Here it was emptied of its water and a new and more successful attempt was made to take it up the cataract. The only thing I lost through this accident was a basket with living hens which I had brought from Arapicos. When the stern of the canoe where the basket had been placed filled with water the torrent carried it away, and it was not possible for the Indians to save the hens.

The Guineo Sass has a bad reputation among those Indians and mestizos who use this water route. Some months before I made this journey one of the Fathers from the mission of Canelos had tried to descend the Pindu on his way to Arapicos. The canoe had been upset in the cataract, and the Father had lost all his luggage, saving his life only by swimming to the shore.

Having ascended the Pindu for about one day and a half we arrived at a point where there is an Indian trail direct to the villages Puyu and Canelos. I thus had to continue my journey overland and expected to reach Canelos in two days. This time, however, it took me three days [70] to get there, owing to an unforeseen accident. During my stay in the Indian house at the Chiguaza sand-flies had bitten one of my toes which became inflamed and rendered walking very difficult, and at last almost impossible. These tiny insects, almost invisible to the naked eye, are very common in the houses of the Indians and are a great annoyance to a white visitor, indeed to the Indians also. Boring into the skin, preferably under the nail, they cause an infection in a few days which, unless the insect is at once cautiously removed with a needle, may become

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-20
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

dangerous, especially owing to the difficulty of keeping the little wound clean while marching. My swollen and aching toe caused me great suffering during this march, being, as I was, unable to attend to it and obliged to walk wet from morning till evening. Some distances my Indians tried to carry me on a sort of litter, but since they had to carry my luggage also, this way of marching proved impossible for any length of time. Besides this, during our march through the forest we were surprised by one of the heaviest downpours I have witnessed in Eastern Ecuador, which lasted for three hours. In an extremely miserable condition I arrived at Canelos, although, on the other hand, I had no reason to be discontented with the results of my long expedition. It was eight days before I had recovered sufficiently to be able to start on my final return journey to Ambato and civilization. I arrived there in the beginning of 1918."

1; Karsten--61 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
727, 574 (1928-29)

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1: Karsten--61 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
727, 574 (1928-29)

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1; Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

1: Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

1: Karsten--291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The victorious enemy wreaks his savage vengeance not only upon the fighting men, but also on old people, women, and small children, nay, sometimes even on the domestic animals. Although there are many statements--from the very time of the Spaniards--to the effect that younger women, and especially girls, are spared in the wars of the Jibaros, we must not take this to be the general rule. It is true that there is a scarcity of women in the Jibaro society and that in general they are held in great esteem on account of the work they do. But it must be remembered that the Jibaros are essentially endogamous, members of foreign tribes being detested and looked upon as natural enemies. Besides, experience has taught the Indians that full-grown women of a vanquished tribe cannot always be made to submit to a victor who has perhaps cruelly killed their husbands, fathers, or brothers, but that they retain an invincible hatred against him. There are, in consequence, instances of the wives of vanquished enemies being carried home by the victors only to be brutally massacred. Young girls can more easily be brought up to become loyal wives and members of the victor's tribe. Boys on the other hand are as a rule instantly killed. The Indians understand that a boy would not easily assimilate with the strange tribe and that, when full-grown, he is most likely to take revenge upon the vanquishers of his own tribe and family. Sometimes a victor may take boys of a vanquished tribe to his home merely to allow them to be killed by his own young sons, who thus will early be initiated into the bloody acts of war."

1: Karsten--291-292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 181 (1928-29)

"It may therefore be justly said that in their wars the Jibaros know no mercy. And although the Jibaro Indian does not particularly practise [292] methods of torturing his vanquished enemy, caught in a war, he on the other hand does not content himself with merely taking his life. He wants to shed as much blood as possible and delights in mutilating the body of the slain enemy, being especially anxious to secure his head. The scene of a battle between Jibaro Indians therefore generally offers a dreadful spectacle of a savage lust of destruction and thirst for blood."

1: Karsten--293-294 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"... the Jibaros never make trophies of the heads of such enemies as belong to their own tribe, that is, with whom they reckon blood-relationship. An Indian who did this would run the risk of being himself killed by his tribesmen, even by those neutral before. On the other hand, it is the rule that when a victory has been attained over a foreign tribe, the heads of the slain enemies are taken. Most Jibaro warriors would consider any victory over such an enemy incomplete, and the whole war expedition more or less a failure, unless they returned with one or several head trophies. Of course, it frequently happens that the Jibaro is able to kill an enemy but not to take his head, because his comrades are able to secure the dead body and perhaps to defeat the slayers. In such a case there cannot be a real victory feast. It happens, however, sometimes, that an enthusiastic Jibaro warrior invites his friends and celebrates a small feast, consisting in drinking bouts and dancing, although he has not been able to capture a trophy but only to kill his enemy.

Contrariwise, it may happen in exceptional cases that a Jibaro, although he has acquired a trophy, does not care to celebrate a feast with it, either because he considers himself too poor to procure the great supply of food necessary for the many guests at such a feast, or because he has not enough people in his house to prepare it or friends to invite to it. Thus the great Jibaro chief Nayapi, of Pastaza, had killed about 20 enemies, but had not celebrated a single victory-feast, evidently in part because his

1: Karsten--293-294 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

many enemies had not given him the peace and tranquillity necessary for preparing such a feast.

The rule is, however, among the Jibaros that a warrior who has captured a head (tsantsa) must celebrate a feast. The head feast for the Jibaro opens the road to honour and fame, to material wealth, to new victories over enemies, and a long life. It is the great mystery feast of [294] the Jibaro Indians; as will presently be seen, it has in part a purely religious significance, inasmuch as the Jibaro through the ceremonies then performed believes he acquires the same benefits as most other savage peoples try to acquire by different kinds of cult."

1: Karsten--294-297
116, 727

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"As soon as a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy of another tribe he at once tries to secure his head, which he cuts off as close to the trunk as possible. The warrior who has cut off the head (muka tsupikma) is the 'lord of the head' (muka héindinyu) and the first who, when the victors are many, has the right to celebrate a feast with it. When several Indians have together killed one enemy it is customary for each of them in turn to celebrate a victory feast with the trophy, which in this case is taken from one house to another.

During the speedy return which generally follows upon a successful attack there is not always time for the victors to at once begin with the preparation of the trophy. They first have to put themselves in safety lest the enemy pursue them. Thus it may happen that they carry the bloody head with them for a couple of days before they get an opportunity to 'skin' it (muka sukúrtinyu). In this work only those warriors engage who have taken part in the killing of the enemy. If the victors are many, and they have been able to acquire only one head, some of them may separate themselves from the rest, saying: 'We go off to kill other enemies and to capture our own heads.'

Those who remain now start to take off the scalp. First the following small ceremony takes place. The head is placed upon a large leaf on the ground. Upon the head is placed another leaf of the forest which the Jibaros call pingi nuka, and to which certain

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

magical virtues are ascribed. (1) The warrior who cut off the head now seats himself on this 'seat' and receives juice of tobacco mixed with saliva from the chief, who blows it in through his nose. Then another of the slayers takes his seat on the head and receives juice of tobacco through the nose, etc., until all have partaken. This is the first of a series of ceremonies which have for their object the protection of the slayers against the revengeful spirit of the killed enemy.

The tsantsa is now prepared in the following way. Along the back of the head, from the apex downward, a long cut is made with a knife, whereupon the scalp and the skin of the face is slowly and carefully drawn off from the skull, in much the same way as is done with the hides of [295] animals for stuffing. The skinning of the face is said to be the most difficult part of this work, for here the skin does not loosen by merely drawing it off, but has to be cut from the flesh with a sharp knife. The skull and all fleshy parts that adhere to it are thrown away and the scalp obtained is further prepared. It is attached to a vine and immersed in a pot of boiling water, where it is left for a while. By boiling the scalp it is freed from microbes, contracts a little, and thickens. It is then taken out of the pot and put on the top of a stick, fixed in the ground, where it is left for a while until it has cooled.

"1. Pingi in the Jibaro language means 'nice', 'noble', 'fine'."

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727 (1928-29)

A ring is formed of a vine which the Jibaros call kapi, of the same size as the circumference of the finished tsantsa at the neck opening, and this ring is attached to the trophy, at first temporarily and later, as the latter assumes its final size by reduction, more firmly. By means of a needle and a thread consisting of a chambira fibre, that part of the scalp which, for the purpose of the skinning of the head had been cut open, is sewn together.

The reducing of the trophy should now begin. What is first done with it, however, has rather the character of some sort of magical ceremony. At the bank of the river three small round stones are looked for, which are heated in the fire. By means of a cleft stick one of the heated stones is taken up from the fire and put into the head through the opening at the neck. This is done by the first slayer (he who cuts off the head of the enemy), whose hand is held by the chief or an old warrior. The head is kept in motion so that the heated stone rolls to and fro within it, burning off a part of the blood and flesh which is still attached to the scalp. The stone is subsequently taken out and again put in the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third stone. The stones used are each time put back on the fire, where they are left.

Since a similar procedure is afterwards undertaken with heated sand, the use of the three small stones seems somewhat superfluous. Probably the object of this treatment is only to mortify the soul of the killed enemy attached to the scalp, and to keep it at bay. This explanation is made more plausible by the fact that the ceremony with three stones is repeated at the great feast, and obviously without practical aim.

The proper reduction of the trophy is brought about by means of hot sand. Some fine sand is taken from the river bank and heated at the fire in a piece of broken clay pot (hakáchi). When the sand is sufficiently hot it is poured into the head so as to more than half fill it. The [296] head is kept in motion so that the sand acts uniformly upon all its parts. The object of this procedure is to remove the flesh still attached to the skin, to make the scalp thinner, and to reduce the whole trophy. This is attained by the procedure with the hot sand being repeated many times. As soon as the sand has cooled it is taken out of the head, reheated at the fire in the broken clay pot, and again poured into the head. Each time, after taking out the sand from the head, the scalp is scraped inside with a knife in order to remove from it what the sand has burned off. As the trophy dries and shrinks through this treatment the head, and especially the face, is cleverly moulded with the fingers, so that it retains its human features, becoming like the head of a small dwarf. This work is continued while returning from the war, sometimes also at home, consequently for several days or even weeks, the same sand and the same broken clay vessel being always used. These things are always kept and carried on the march by the first slayer, whose duty it is, as soon as the party arrives at a camping place, to place the clay pot on the fire and heat sand for the moulding of the trophy.

It is considered necessary that the sand shall be heated in an old broken clay pot. An entire clay vessel, or a piece of a quite new clay vessel would not do.

By this treatment the Jibaros are able to gradually reduce the head to such an extent that it is not larger than an orange, or about one-fourth of its normal size, becoming at the same time completely hard and dry. Through both lips, shrunk in proportion to the rest of the head, three small chonta pins, about 5 centimeters in length and painted red with roucu, are passed parallel with each other, and round these pins a fine cotton string, which is also painted red, is wound. At the great feast both the chonta pins and the cotton string are removed and replaced by three twisted and red-painted cotton strings. Lastly the whole trophy, even the face, is dyed black with charcoal.

During the whole work particular attention has been paid to the hair, which is the most essential part of the trophy. Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power.

The Jibaros of to-day, in cutting the enemy's head and skinning it, avail themselves of knives obtained from the whites, but formerly--in fact, only a few decades ago--

native instruments had to be used for this [297] purpose. The head was severed from the trunk by means of a stone axe and a big knife of hard chonta wood. Again, in stripping the skin from the skull and the face they used snail's shells sharpened against a stone, and flat pieces of split bamboo (guadua) resembling knife-blades and extremely sharp. Such a native knife is still ceremonially used at least on one occasion, as related before, namely, when the navel-string of a newborn child is cut.

Since the tsantsa itself is an object charged with supernatural power, it is intelligible that many arrangements at its preparation are of a magical nature or are due to superstitious ideas of one kind or another. This holds good, for instance, of the ceremony with the three heated stones, described before. Likewise, the arrangement with the red-painted chonta pins, with which the lips are pierced, and the red cotton string wound round them, as well as the blackening of the trophy, hardly serve any reasonable practical purpose, but must be set down to pure superstition. Since the Indians ascribe a special, mysterious power to the hard wood of the strong chonta palm--a power further increased by the red paint--and red-painted cotton strings likewise play a part in their superstitious practices, it is more than probable that the real aim of the ornaments mentioned is to keep the soul of the murdered enemy under constant magical compulsion, perhaps also to paralyze the curses proceeding from the mouth of the victim. With the same view the tsantsa is at the feast generally held tied to a lance of chonta.

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 727 (1928-29)

The preparation of the head trophy requires great skill and care, for through some slight carelessness, for instance at the removal of the scalp, or at the burning, the whole thing may easily be entirely spoiled. The young Jibaro who has killed an enemy for the first time is therefore instructed in its preparation by an older warrior. Nor can an Indian prepare the head alone. Hence, when a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy alone and taken his head he needs the help of another man, at least for the skinning of the head. This assistant must necessarily be a warrior who likewise has earlier killed some enemy. Another Indian would not have 'a good hand' for the work and would not do.

The stronger the killed enemy has been in life, the more valiantly he has fought, the more difficult it has been to deprive him of life, the greater is the honour the victor earns by his deed, the greater is the power of the trophy made of his head. Notwithstanding this it sometimes occurs among the Jibaros that tsantsas are prepared even of heads of women."

1; Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

"But the Jibaro Indian does not make trophies solely of the heads of his human enemies but also of the heads of certain animals. There is one animal especially which in this respect plays a curious part in the superstition of the Jibarós, namely, the sloth, called uyúshi by them. Feasts with trophies made of the head of the sloth are among the Jibaros as common as feasts with human tsantsas. This fact derives its explanation from the mythology of these Indians. In primitive times, the Jibaros say, all animals--quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and so on--were men, i.e. Jibaros. They had human shape, human habits, human thoughts and passions, and human language. They also waged wars against each other, and made trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, just as the Jibaros still do. Later on this kind of folk were changed into animals, the animals which still exist. The Jibaros still have a very vivid consciousness of their supposed relationship with the animal world, a feature which especially appears in their religion and their poetry. But they especially claim to trace the ancient human qualities in the sloth. This helpless animal, according to their idea, is a direct survival from the remote period mentioned. It is still a Jibaro in the shape of an animal, but a Jibaro of a foreign tribe and consequently an enemy. He is a very old man, as

1: Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

one may judge from his slow movements and from the fact that his hair is partly gray. (1) The Jibaros even profess to know what his name was in ancient times, while a man. He was then called Unúpi, his wife's name was Unúchi, and brother's Uyúngra. When, therefore, the Jibaros meet a sloth, they kill it with a lance, just as they kill their human enemies, and make a trophy of its head. This trophy is prepared in the same way as a human tsantsa, but is only reduced a little, since the head of the sloth is comparatively small. It is no doubt in part the wonderful similarity of the sloth's head to a human tsantsa that has given rise to the superstition the Indians entertain about it. In the trophy made of the sloth the fell of the neck corresponds to the hair of a tsantsa. The fell of that part is therefore preserved and prepared with care. The Indian who has killed the animal has thereafter to pass through exactly the same purificatory ceremonies as one who has killed a human enemy, and even the final great victory feast is celebrated [299] in due time with exactly the same grand preparations and with the same carefully performed ceremonies.

"1. The superstition held of the sloth is partly due to the fact that the animal is extremely tenacious of life. This the Jibaros suppose to be the case with old people in general. When a Jibaro warrior has succeeded in killing an enemy who was an old man and whom it was very difficult to deprive of life, he regards the victory as a special triumph."

l: Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

There are also instances of trophies having been made by the Jibaros of the head of the jaguar. Many years ago an Indian woman was killed by a jaguar in the neighbourhood of Rio Zamora. The Jibaros regard a jaguar, which in this way attacks and kills people, as the incarnation of the soul of an evil sorcerer which has entered that wild beast with a view to harming or killing his enemies. The Indians consequently resolved to take revenge, arranged a hunt of the animal, and succeeded in killing it. They thereafter made a trophy of its head, and a victory feast was celebrated in the ordinary way. (1)"

"1. It deserves to be emphasized in this connection that the trophies mentioned above are the only ones customary among the Jibaros. It has been alleged that these Indians not only are in the habit of shrinking the heads of their enemies, but sometimes prepare their whole body as a mummy-like trophy, and I have myself seen photographs of such trophies which are even said to exist in ethnographic museums in America. I beg to point out that all trophies of this kind are pure falsifications, wholly devoid of ethnographical value."

1: Karsten--299-300 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"In regard to the diet of the Jibaro warriors, there is nothing prescribed for the time they are preparing for and marching to the war. They may then eat whatever they like. But as soon as a Jibaro has killed an enemy the fasting begins. All those who took part in the killing of the enemy are, during the return home, allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma. This food has to be cooked exclusively by the slayers themselves. No other man, and still less a woman, may prepare it. When the warriors eat they never touch the manioc with their fingers, like the Jibaros generally do, but they use small wooden pins to eat with. Their hands having been polluted with the blood of their enemies, the food would become impure if they touched it, and they expose themselves to death.

Moreover, the warriors are not allowed to bathe or to wash themselves in any way until they reach home. Dirty and soiled with blood, as they departed from battle, they should arrive home. This, of course, also holds good for their clothing, their loin-cloth (itipi) and other clothes, as well as their weapons, the bloody lance with which the enemy was killed, and the knife with which his head was cut off. It is not until later, at the general ceremonial purification at home, that the warrior himself and his weapons can be washed. [300]

From the hour when the warrior killed his enemy up to the feast which is called Suamártinyu, and which is celebrated some months later, he is not allowed either to have sexual intercourse with a woman or even to sleep in the same room as a woman."

1: Karsten--301-302 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"Immediately after their return the victor or victors have to pass through the purification procedure, connected with a small feast, which the Jibaros call Numbuimártinyu (from númba, blood, and mártinyu, to paint, to coat), the principal ceremony of which consists in their legs being coated with hen's blood. If the victors are many, this ceremony is first performed with the one who cut off the head of the enemy, and thereafter in turns with each of those who took part in the killing. Before the victors, who travel slowly and stop at various houses on the way, arrive home, a message has been sent that the warriors are coming, that a head has been captured, and that preparations for the feast Numbuimártinyu shall begin at once. This feast therefore always has a more or less improvised character.

The first slayer stops in the house of some relations in the neighbourhood of his home until the trophy is definitely prepared. It is not until then that his solemn entrance into his own house can take place. He is in the dress of a penitent, has his hair untied, and wears no body-painting or other ornaments. At his side stands the chief or some other old warrior, who will lead the ceremonies at the following feasts and in this capacity is called whuéa. Behind these two men the rest of the warriors arrange themselves in a row. The whuéa first gives the slayer juice of tobacco through the nose. Thereafter the latter disengages the trophy from the cloth in which it has been wrapped up and with the aid of the old man hangs it round his neck, over the breast. Followed

1: Karsten--301-302 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

by the rest of the men, he now slowly and ceremoniously, and continually smoothing the hair of the trophy with the hand, proceeds toward the house, stopping outside the door. From within all the women come to meet him, arranged in a row and holding each other by the hands, all in festive dresses and with rattles of snail's shells round the cinctures. On each side of the women the men arrange themselves in two rows [302]inside the house. The introductory dance with the trophy which is called Ihiámbrama, and which is performed by the victor together with the women, now takes place. From among the women two step forth who have been standing at the head of the rest. Those are the wife and daughter of the victor. For the following dance the daughter grasps him from behind at the cincture with both hands; the wife gives him her hand, standing at the head of the other women. The slayer again seizes the tsantsa with the right hand, holding it up with the arm stretched out; with the left he grasps the hand of his wife. All now pass, dancing or hopping sideways, into the interior of the house, to the accompaniment of drums and the rattles of the women, and immediately return to the entrance. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice. Each time the slayer, led by the women, returns to the entrance of the house. The aim of this dance is to paralyze the danger threatening the victor from the spirit of the murdered enemy at the first entrance into the house, which is regarded as particularly critical (Pl. XXVIII)."

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"The slayer now takes off the tsantsa and the latter is tied to a chonta lance which is fixed in the ground close to the door on the inner side. The lance must be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, to which the Indians ascribe a supernatural power. Another kind of lance, for instance one having an iron point, would not do. In this way the tsantsa is kept at the following feasts also during the time it is not needed for the ceremonies. The trophy being tied to the chonta lance, the spirit of the enemy attached to it is brought into subjection and kept at bay.

The whuéa lays his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer and takes him round in the house, as if to manifest that he can now move about there without danger.

Meanwhile, close to the lance with the tsantsa tied to it, two small vessels have been placed. One is a piece of an old broken clay pot (hakáchi) containing a little hen's blood, the other an ordinary small pot with a solution of genipa (sua). These three objects, the lance with the trophy tied to it, the piece of the clay pot containing hen's blood, and the small pot with genipa, seem to be sacred; no unauthorized person may touch them or even come near them.

If among the warriors who took part in the killing of the enemy two or more are from the same house, being for instance two brothers or a father with his sons, a special broken clay vessel with hen's blood and a special small pot with genipa must be placed at the lance for each of them. [303] The ceremony Numbuimártinyu must thus be performed

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

separately with each slayer from the same house.

The 'washing of the blood' now takes place. The slayer takes his seat upon a small round bench close to the vessel with the hen's blood and the whuéa places himself at his side. Around them the women form a semicircle, having their rattles round the cincture as before. They are led by an old woman, called oháha, who at the feasts directs all those ceremonies at which the women play the main part. The whuéa first gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the hand, brings it down to the vessel containing the hen's blood, lets him dip the index finger into it, and subsequently with the blood draw a broad line 2 or 3 inches in length along the front of one of his legs, from below upward. Thereafter the slayer, with the aid of the whuéa, applies a similar stroke with the blood to his other leg. While this is being done the women, led by the oháha, dance in a ring around them, singing a sort of conjuration, which mainly consists of the following phrase:

Whuéa heingi ikaski numbimarmai ihámbratinyu; that is, 'The whuéa, together with the oháha (ikaski), paint you with blood to start the fasting.'

As we shall see, the ceremony Numbuimártinyu introduces a time of very strict fasting for the slayer.

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

The slayer now in his turn does the whuéa the same service, drawing with his index finger two streaks with the hen's blood upon both his legs.

The blood-painting ceremony having been finished, the piece of broken clay vessel, together with the blood left in it, is immediately thrown away into the forest. It is an impure and harmful substance which need no longer be kept.

The whuea asks the wife of the slayer for water, and she brings it in a clay dish (pininga). The old man takes a little water from the dish with his hand and puts it upon the head of the slayer. Thereupon he does the same with the wife and daughter of the slayer, putting with his hand a little water upon their heads. All three are subsequently sent down to the river to bathe.

That even the wife and the daughter of the slayer have to pass through this purification procedure and afterwards also have to take part in various other ceremonies, is partly due to the close relationship existing between them and the slayer, but especially to the role they have played at the dance Ihiámbrama. By touching the still blood-stained hands and clothes of the slayer they have likewise been polluted by the blood of the murdered enemy, are consequently exposed to danger from the [304] revengeful spirit, and have to be purified from the blood and observe other rules of precaution. From this moment up to the time for the celebration of the final great victory feast they have thus to fast in the same way as the slayer himself, assisting at the said feast again at the dance *Ihiámbrama*, which then will be repeated.

If the slayer has two wives they generally assist at the dance mentioned. If he is quite a young man, who has not yet married, it is considered obligatory that he should look for a bride for the feast. The part of the other woman in this case is played by some near female relative of his.

In the river the slayer carefully washes his whole body, as well as his clothing, soiled with blood in the battle, and lastly his weapons, the still bloody lance and knife. Together with his wife and daughter, who have also washed themselves, he then returns to the house.

On the way they break off some twigs of guayusa (*Ilex* sp.), called *weisa* by the Jibaros, a tree the leaves of which are used for the preparation of an aromatic and tonic drink, with which the Jibaros wash their mouths every morning. This drink has now to be prepared. The slayer as well as his wife and daughter together grasp a small clay pot, called *yukúnda*, pour water into it from a larger vessel, and together place it on the fire. As soon as the drink has boiled the *whuéa* takes a little of it in a small gourd, mutters an incantation over it, and passes it to the slayer who washes his mouth with it without swallowing much of it. Thereafter the *whuéa* in the same way gives of the drink to the wife and the daughter of the slayer, who likewise wash their mouths with it. The small clay pot is then taken off the fire and laid aside. The three persons are now properly purified for breaking the fast.

The wife of the slayer goes to fetch the edible top of a small palm which the Jibaros call tingimi, which is put on the fire to be roasted, exactly on the same place where the guayusa pot lay. At another fire in the house beans have before been cooked, and at a third manioc, afterwards mashed, a dish called nauma. As soon as the palm top is sufficiently roasted the women move over to this fire, take a dish with beans, and another dish with boiled manioc (nauma). The three principal persons, the slayer himself and his wife and daughter, now have to break the fast after the 'washing of the blood.' The whuea at first gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose. Then with two fingers he takes a little of the palm top (tingimi), spits on the ground, mutters an incantation over it and puts it directly into the mouth of the slayer, who [305] swallows it. Then with two fingers he takes a few beans, and lastly also a small piece of boiled manioc together with a little salt and a little pimiento or Indian pepper, and gives them to the slayer with the same ceremony. Exactly the same action is repeated with his wife and his daughter, each of whom likewise receives a little of the dishes mentioned. The vessels with the food are subsequently carried away by the other women.

Meanwhile food has also been cooked for the guests in the women's department of the house. This food consists essentially of boiled chicken. If there are swine in the house, one is also slaughtered and prepared, but according to old tradition boiled chicken is the main dish at the feast Numbuimártinyu.

A general banquet now commences, at which the guests eat chicken and manioc, whereas the slayer, his wife, and daughter eat the palm top tingimi, beans, and manioc.

After the banquet the last ceremony takes place, which consists in the slayer being painted with genipa (sua). The slayer seats himself on a bench in front of the pot containing the black dye, and the whuéa places himself at his side, grasps his hand, makes him dip his index finger in the solution and apply a broad stroke with it over the mouth so that both lips are painted black. Thereafter the old man draws a similar black stroke over his own mouth. The women simultaneously dance around the two men, singing an incantation. The pot containing the genipa is now carried away and kept.

The whuéa finally addresses the slayer in a sort of speech wherein he points out that he himself has now fulfilled his mission to wash off the blood from the slayer, but that the latter has now to prepare himself for the celebration of the final great victory feast. He has to breed swine and fowls to be slaughtered at the feast; he must plant fields of manioc and plantain; he must in his life carefully observe certain rules of abstinence from eating certain kinds of food, etc.

When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock in the evening, a general dance commences, which is characteristic of this feast and is called Hantsemáta. This dance will be described later in connection with the Tsantsa-feast proper. The slayer himself takes part in the dance with the trophy hanging on his back. It has to be continued during the whole night until dawn. That night no one in the house is allowed to sleep and especially not the slayer himself.

The aim of the feast Numbuimártinyu, as already mentioned, is to [306] purify the slayer from the blood which is attached to him after the killing of the enemy, and to protect him against the spirit of the latter, who is thirsting for revenge. The soul of the enemy is particularly supposed to be present in the blood. How this purification can be brought about with the two strokes of blood applied to the legs of the slayer, is something the Jibaros can not explain more closely. Nor can they explain why hen's blood must necessarily be used for this procedure, or why that blood must be kept in an old, broken clay pot. 'Our ancestors have since times immemorial proceeded in this way,' an old Jibaro, whom I asked about the custom, answered me, 'and we have to keep up and follow their customs'. That a magical power and supernaturally purifying effects are ascribed to the hen's blood is, however, clear. The same purifying effects, in a magical or religious sense of the word, are ascribed to the bath in the river and to the washing of the mouth with guayusa, the object of the latter ceremony especially being to favourably prepare the slayer for the breaking of the fast. Again, the painting with the genipa is a direct protection against the spirit of the enemy. Body-painting among the Indians nearly always serves magical ends, being regarded as a protection against disease and witchcraft, and this is especially the case with the black painting. According to the ideas of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians there is a demon (wakáni, supai) in the black genipa paint, and when the Indian paints his body or face black this is usually a sign that he is either going to kill an enemy or has already killed one. As we shall see, painting with genipa also takes place at the feast Suamártinyu and at the final great victory feast.

In regard to the question why the hen's blood used at the purification ought to be kept in an old broken clay vessel (hakáchi), it may be mentioned that the Jibaros make use of broken clay pots at certain cathartic rites, when they try to get rid of something that is impure, horrible, and dangerous. Since the hen's blood which has purified the slayer is afterwards impure and harmful matter and accordingly is thrown away at once, it is consonant with ritualistic principles that it should be kept in a useless vessel, worthy of being thrown away, like the piece of a broken clay pot. It seems to be due to similar considerations that the Jibaros use a hakáchi for heating the sand with which the trophy is reduced at the preparation.

Again, if one asks what ideas underlie the choice of the slayer's food--palm top, beans, mashed manioc, etc.--the Indians only give the explanation that he ought to eat such light kinds of food that remain in [307] his stomach and which he does not run the risk of throwing up, which evidently would be regarded as dangerous for him. Their idea is, no doubt, that a very indigestible or irritating food could become a means through

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

which the invisible, supernatural enemy of the slayer-- the spirit of the killed enemy-- could get an opportunity to harm him, perhaps cause his death. That the guests mainly eat chicken at the feast is probably only due to the fact that Numbuimártinyu is an improvised feast, and that, therefore, such kinds of food is given them as is most easy to procure."

1: Karsten--307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"The prescriptions concerning the diet and mode of life which the slayer has to observe during the time immediately following the 'washing of the blood', or up to the feast called Suamártinyu which is celebrated some months later, are very severe and strict. He is not even allowed to dress completely, but only wears his loin-cloth (itipi), tied up with a cincture, having the upper part of the body bare. The hair is generally kept loose and is not arranged in the three pigtails normally worn by the Jibaros. Only at the neck is the hair occasionally tied up. He must not wear ear-tubes, facial painting, necklaces, or other ornaments of any kind. He cannot carry a lance or other weapon, nor handle poison (1) or other dangerous matter, nor go out hunting or fishing or on new expeditions, nor take part in feasts. When the slayer is out wandering he, instead of the lance without which normally no Jibaro leaves his house, only carries a short staff. He is also prohibited from having sexual intercourse with his wife or even from sleeping in the women's department of the house (ekinturu), but passes his nights in the anteroom or men's department (tangámasha). His diet is the lightest possible and consists only of the palm top (tingimi), which is eaten roasted, of boiled and mashed manioc

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"1. This prohibition especially concerns the arrow-poison (seasa), and the varvasco poison (timo) used in fishing."

(nauma), and of the smallest kinds of fish caught in the rivers (a sort of sardine, chumakái, and another kind of small fish, sháchma). These may be boiled or roasted, but must be eaten without the addition of other kinds of food.

The wife and daughter of the slayer must also fast. Their food during the period in question consists principally of beans and of the leaves of a forest plant which the Jibaros call épo."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 777 (1928-29)

"If the slayer infringes these rules the consequences for him will be fatal. He will soon die; he will not be able to kill any more enemies or to celebrate other victory-feasts. Even his nearest relatives will die [308] through sickness or accidents, one after another (1) His domestic animals, instead of increasing and flourishing, will pine away and die. The manioc, plantain, and other domestic plants will dry up and produce no fruits. In all his undertakings he will be unlucky. In one word, the effects of the trophy will be directly contrary to those generally expected from its supernatural power. All this is caused by the spirit of the murdered enemy (wakáni). The revengeful ghost, who takes no rest, follows his slayer everywhere, always looking for an opportunity to kill or harm him, and the latter believes that he meets him especially in dreams. Generally the wakáni meets him in the shape of an Indian armed with a lance, with which he is continually trying to kill him. But the spirit also appears to him in other shapes,

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"1. Every death that takes place within the family of the slayer during the time following the killing of the enemy is set down to the secret operation of the revengeful spirit (wakáni). At a feast where I was present the slayer told me that within his family seven persons had died of mysterious diseases or through accidents during the two years which had elapsed since he killed his enemy. This wakáni, therefore, was considered to have been a particularly bad one."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 784, 777 (1928-29)

especially in the shape of a black monkey, a deer, (2) a bear, or some other hairy animal of the forest. This is one of the reasons why the slayer does not, during the critical time, go out wandering in the forest. The wakáni can in many ways threaten his life there. If, for instance, he wanders to the verge of a precipice at the bank of a river, the revengeful demon may take an opportunity to push him over the precipice. He may also cause a tree or a branch to fall upon him in the forest and crush him. If he wears a lance or a knife the spirit may cause his death with these weapons. If he tries to shoot a bird or an animal with blowpipe and poisoned arrows the enemy may cause the arrow to hit the slayer himself. For the same reason he has to be extremely careful in other respects. If, for instance, he has intercourse with his wife or some other woman, it may happen that the wakáni, who is constantly lurking near him, slays him, so that he dies on the spot. Besides, since there is supposed to exist an intimate connection between woman and the plants which she cultivates, the consequence of his having intercourse with his wife will be that the manioc and other fruits, recently planted

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"2. The deer, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is the incarnation of a demon (iguanchi), one of the most dangerous animal demons they know. The Jibaros, therefore, never eat the flesh of the deer or even touch it with their hands."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 784, 777 (1928-29)

for the feast, will not reach ripeness, but will dry up. If the slayer eats some unsuitable and forbidden food the spirit may again through this food operate against him, causing indigestion and [309] death. On the whole, the slayer must observe the principle to live as retired and hidden a life as possible, for in this way he may more easily escape his supernatural enemy. This is also the reason why he must not take part in religious feasts, or wear body-painting, ear-tubes, necklaces, and other magical ornaments used by those who enter into relation with the spirits, and through which these, as it were, are challenged.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Jibaro warrior conscientiously submits himself to the severe rules imposed upon him by society, and that the feast itself is prepared and celebrated with all the care which custom and tradition require."

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"It may be observed that the practices and rites of the feast Numbuimártinyu and the rules observed afterwards may vary in certain details among different tribes. Thus among the Jibaros of the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians the diet of the slayer after the 'washing of the blood' consists mainly of the fruit and the leaves of the plant mandi (called sangu by the Jibaros). For a whole year the slayer has to abstain from cohabiting with his wife. The lance among these Indians is not washed at the ceremonial bath in the river, but the point of it is roasted in the fire so that the blood is dried or burned.

The lance or the rifle with which an enemy has been killed is always looked upon with superstitious fear by the Indians, and is never again used in hunting. If, for instance, a wild hog is killed with such a lance or rifle, the flesh of the animal is supposed to get the same taste as human flesh, and would not therefore be eaten by anybody. The Jibaro warrior is therefore anxious to exchange as soon as possible the lance with which he has killed an enemy. The rifle he generally keeps, but no longer uses it in hunting, only in wars.

Immediately after the feast Numbuimártinyu the slayer repairs to a natural waterfall in the forest (paccha or sasa), situated at a distance from his home, and takes some baths to further purify himself. He remains here alone for three days, fasting and taking tobacco water, sleeping at night in a small shelter and paying particular attention to his dreams. After the lapse of the three days he returns to his home, but

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

passes the first two nights not in his house but in a small shelter made on the bank of the river. Thereafter he can sleep in his house, not with his wife, however, but in the ante-room or men's department of the house."

1: Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The feast Suamártinyu, which is held three or four months after the Numbuimártinyu, takes its name from the main ceremony performed, the painting of the slayer with genipa (sua). Even at the Numbuimártinyu, as we have seen, painting with sua took place, but that procedure is now undertaken more thoroughly and assumes a greater importance than at the feast first mentioned.

A detailed description of the feast Suamártinyu is not necessary, since the ceremonies which take place are exactly the same as those performed at the final great victory-feast. The Suamártinyu, as a matter of fact, is only an anticipation of the latter. The only difference is that the preparations for the feast Suamártinyu are less grand, fewer swine and chickens are slaughtered, and fewer guests are invited. The principal ceremony at this feast is the washing of the trophy in a magical solution, through which the spirit of the slain enemy is supposed to become the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. Then follows the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine, and the final ceremony when the whuéa or priest helps the slayer to dress himself, cuts his hair, makes him break the fast, and lastly paints his face, breast, stomach, arms, and legs with sua. The feast Suamártinyu lasts three or four days.

At the painting of the slayer's body with genipa the Jibaros formerly used a special instrument consisting of a cylindrical object, made of a special kind of very hard clay, into which certain circular ornaments were incised. The instrument was dipped into

1; Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

the genipa-solution and rolled along the cheeks, arms, legs, and body, of the slayer, the ornaments incised in the instrument being thereby stamped upon his body. This instrument, which is called payánga, is still known, but it is no longer made of clay but of a kind of wood."

1: Karsten--311-312 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The object of the feast *Suamártinyu* is partly to give the slayer renewed protection against the spirit of the killed enemy, partly to favourably prepare the trophy for what is its proper aim, namely, to promote the material wealth of the slayer, especially for the period immediately following the feast *Numbuimártinyu*. In the first respect the feast is of significance for him in so far that he need no longer observe the same anxious caution and strict abstinence in his mode of life that was necessary before. Thus he may again dress completely, tie his hair in pigtails, wear face-painting and ornaments, use lances and other weapons, go hunting and fishing, take part in feasts, sleep with his wife, etc. In one word, he can in the main return to his former normal life, with the exception that he is obliged to continue dieting. Even in this respect he has, however, far more liberty than before. With regard to food he has to observe the following rules. The slayer must absolutely abstain from eating pork and fowl. He is allowed to eat all fruits cultivated by the Jibaros, the manioc, however, only boiled, but not roasted. He must [312] not eat the flesh of the tapir (*pamá*), of the great wild hog (*unta pakki*), of the paca (*Coelogenys paca*, called *kashai* by the Jibaros), or of any kind of monkey. Of birds he must not eat the tucan, the wild turkey, the paugi, or other larger birds commonly hunted by the Jibaros, but only such small forest birds as are shot with the blowgun and non-poisoned arrows. On the other hand, he is recommended to eat the small peccary (*yankipi*) and the rodent guatusa or agouti (*Dasyprocta agouti*). Of fish he is

1: Karsten--311-212 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

recommended to eat the large sheat-fish tungá, and the wámbi (Spanish, bocachupa), but is forbidden to eat the kánga (Spanish, bocachico), the commonest fish in the South American rivers. He may also eat small fish (chumakai). If he infringes these rules he runs the risk of falling ill and dying, and the object of the whole feast will be missed."

1: Karsten--312-313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 262 (1928-29)

"The dietetic prescriptions just mentioned depend on the following ideas. The slayer must, as a general rule, avoid eating the flesh of any animal through which the spirit of the slain enemy may get an opportunity to harm him. The most important mission of the tsantsa [JKM: head-trophy] after the feast Suamártinyu is to promote the increase of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the chicken (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu), and more particularly for the final great feast. For the very reason that the power of the tsantsa is in a mysterious way effective in the domestic animals mentioned, it is considered dangerous for the slayer to eat swine's flesh and fowls during this critical period, for that power may then prove destructive to him. The prohibition especially refers to swine's flesh. If the slayer eats of it, he may fall ill and die, and that is the work of the wakáni. This superstition is seemingly supported by the fact that flesh, and especially the fat of the swine, in tropical regions easily causes affections of the liver and other disturbances of the digestive processes. With the Indians such diseases often end fatally. The danger of a diet careless in this respect must of course be greater for a man who, for many months, has observed that strict abstinence with regard to food which has been described above.

The tapir is an animal which the Jibaros in general look upon with superstition and the flesh of which they therefore rarely eat. Formerly they had almost the same aversion from this animal as they still have from the deer, of which they believe that it is an incarnation of a demon (iguánchi), a belief still held of the tapir also by the

1: Karsten--312-313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 262 (1928-29)

Jibaros of the Pastaza. The flesh of the wild hog is taboo to the slayer on account of the great similarity of that animal to the domestic swine, the flesh of which is strictly forbidden to him. The paca (kashai), although nor-[313]mally eaten by the Jibaros, is looked upon as a demoniacal animal, its flesh being therefore forbidden to persons who for one reason or another are obliged to diet.

That monkeys' flesh is forbidden to the slayer is due to the great likeness of these animals to man. The spirit of the dead enemy may hide in such an animal and cause the death of the slayer if he tries to shoot it in the forest or eat of its flesh.

Similarly the soul of the enemy may temporarily take up its abode in a tucan, a paugi, or some other large bird of the forest, and in this shape threaten the life of the slayer. Their flesh is therefore equally taboo to him.

The rule that the slayer can eat the manioc only boiled but not roasted is due to the fact that at the great feast the Jibaros prepare, from roasted manioc, a sort of manioc-wine (shiki), a magical drink which is ceremonially drunk on the last day of the feast. Since the consuming of this drink forms an important part of the conjurations at the feast, it is considered fraught with danger for the slayer to prematurely come into contact even with the roasted manioc from which it is made."

1: Karsten--313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 825, 727 (1928-29)

"....the rules in regard to the diet of the Jibaro warrior are founded on the idea that by eating the flesh of certain other animals he will acquire qualities characteristic of these animals, which make it easier for him to escape his invisible supernatural enemy as well as his living relatives. From this point of view we have to explain, for instance, the recommendation for the slayer to eat the flesh of the agouti. This small rodent is very shy and runs fast, being rather difficult to catch. By eating the animal the slayer will acquire the same quality, at the time very useful to him. Similarly the fish wámbi is known as very shy and quick, great skill being required for catching it. The large sheat-fish also cunningly hides in the depths of the great rivers and lagoons, thus easily escaping his pursuers. Even this fish, therefore, possesses qualities which are useful for the Jibaro warrior who is trying to evade his enemies."

1: Karsten--313-314 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 773, 727 (1928-29)

"The prohibition for the slayer to eat the fish kánga is explained from the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to these, as already mentioned, all animal beings, even the fishes, have once been men--that is, Jibaros. Even in primitive times they used to wage war on and kill each other, to make trophies of each other's heads and to celebrate victory feasts. The fish kánga, then, in a fight was killed by one of his enemies, who later on was changed into a bird, the umbrella bird, [313] called ungúmi by the Jibaros. The ungúmi also made a trophy of the head of the fish kánga. Therefore the mouth of the kánga has still great similarity to the reduced mouth of a human tsantsa, and this is the reason why the Jibaro warrior, during the time he has to fast, abstains from eating that fish."

1: Karsten--314-315 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"After the feast *Suamártinyu* the slayer undertakes a short journey, just as he did after he had 'washed off the blood'. Before he can make use of the greater liberty with regard to his mode of life which is conceded to him after the said feast, it is considered necessary that the black painting applied to his body at the feast shall have completely disappeared. The black dye prepared of the fruit of the *Genipa americana*, owing to its richness in tannin, is very astringent, and in spite of much washing remains for four or five days. The slayer as usual retires to the forest, staying in the neighbourhood of a *sasa*, where he bathes repeatedly and sleeps at night in a small shelter made close by. After the lapse of some days, when there are no traces left on his body of the painting, [315] he returns to his home, where he, in the main, resumes his former normal life, the only exception being the fasting which he is still bound to observe."

1; Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

"For some time afterwards [JKM: after the feast Suamártinyu] the slayer continually has intercourse with the spirit of the enemy he has killed, whom he meets and converses with, especially in his dreams. Through the ceremonies of conjuration performed, the wakáni is now turned into his obedient slave, and is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at his disposal. The spirit gives his victor instructions and advises him as to how the swine and the chickens ought to be fed and taken care of in order that they may grow quickly, get fat and increase, or how the plantations ought to be attended to, cleaned and irrigated, in order that they may flourish and bear abundant fruit. In the dream the spirit shows to the slayer the tracks of the numerous swine which will be the result of such care, and he lets him hear the sound of their grunting. The latter also believes that he sees his house surrounded by large flourishing plantations of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, and other fruits, even they being the future result of the supernatural power of the tsantsa. The fact that the slayer, through his intercourse with the wakáni, becomes invested with an extraordinary insight into all domestic work, also explains why during this time he becomes the adviser of the women in attending to the domestic animals and in the cultivation of the fields, occupations that normally, according to the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros, are incumbent solely upon the women. With the tsantsa hanging round his neck he now and then goes out in the swine yard and gives the women instructions with regard to details of the care of the

1; Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

animals, or out to the manioc plantations where he gives them corresponding instructions concerning agriculture.

During all this, however, great caution and care is still necessary for the victor. If he, for instance, is negligent in observing the rules in regard to fasting, it may happen that the result of the whole affair is contrary to the one expected. Through such negligence he not only exposes himself personally to danger, but it may also happen that the swine, instead of growing and increasing in number, will die, through the wakáni, in the shape of a venomous snake, biting them to death, or killing them in some other way. The plantations likewise, instead of flourishing and giving fruit, may dry up. All these calamities are operations of the revengeful spirit, against whom sufficient precautions have not been taken. [316]

If, however, everything has turned out well, if the swine have become full-grown and fat, if the fields have given abundant fruits so that there is a good supply of manioc, bananas, and sweet potatoes, the warrior begins to take steps for the celebration of the proper victory feast, the so-called Einsupani."

1: Karsten--317 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 104, 727 (1928-29)

"The general name for a feast among the Jibaros is Nambéra, which word, however, particularly signifies a drinking-feast. The victory-feast is, therefore, sometimes called Nambéra tsantsa.(1) The technical name for this feast is Einsupani, from ein(t)su, 'folk,' 'people,' and the word 'pani', which also seems to mean 'feast', but is only used in this and a couple of other words.(2) 'To celebrate a feast' means ihiámbrama, whereas the verbal substantive ihiámbratinyu signifies the person who makes the feast, or in whose honour it is held. The principal person at the victory-feast--that is, the slayer--is also entitled mangértoma ('the one who has killed'). As a host at the feast he is called heindinyu."

"1. The word hista, which is now most frequently used for a feast (tsantsa hista, etc.) is borrowed from Spanish (fiesta).

2. Kusúpani, 'the feast of the men,' and Yawápani, 'the feast of the dogs.'"

8: Karsten--317 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 266 (1928-29)

"The victory-feast [JKM: *Nambéra tsantsa*] is also sometimes called *tsantsa yuoma*--that is, 'the eating of the tsantsa'--which expression has special reference to the series of conjurations through which the spirit of the killed enemy is trodden under foot, mortified, and enslaved. When the Jibaro is speaking of an enemy whom he particularly hates and wants to kill he says of him: '*Yuotahei*', 'I will eat him.' This expression may be a survival from a time when the Jibaros were cannibals, and as a matter of fact at the head feast, as we shall see, a ceremony formerly took place which may be regarded as a trace of cannibalism."

1: Karsten--317-320 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The final victory-feast generally takes place about one and a half or two, sometimes even three or more years after the Suamártinyu, according to the thoroughness with which the victor wants to prepare himself for the same. One or two months before the preparations proper begin the slayer returns to that life of a penitent which was prescribed for him during the period between Numbuimártinyu and Suamártinyu. He thus is not allowed to wear other clothes than his loin-cloth, keeps [318] his hair untied, gives up all ornaments and facial painting, does not bear a lance, does not go out hunting or fishing, abstains from sleeping with his wife, etc. His diet also is much the same as then. From now until the feast is over he eats only fruits, manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, etc., but only boiled, not roasted.

All preparations for the feast are made by the slayer himself, who also acts as host at the feast. In this quality he has to attend to several representative duties.

One and a half or two months before the feast the women commence to make the many clay vessels needed, work which they continue for some weeks. Among these clay vessels there are large pots (muitsa), in which the great quantity of manioc-beer brewed for the feast is kept, and smaller dishes (pininga), used for the food and the drink.

Some piningas are made quite small, about a third or a fourth of the normal size. These are intended for certain persons, who at the feast take part in important conjurations and hence have to fast afterwards, being allowed to drink only a small quantity

1: Karsten--317-320 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

[illegible] manioc-beer.

A quite small pot is made with special care. In this pot, guarded by the whuéa or priest, the tobacco juice is kept which is given to the slayer and some other persons at the feast before and during certain important ceremonies. The pot is called nattipya and is provided with a small cover, from which the women taking part in the ceremonies have to drink the tobacco juice. The pot and the cover are likewise painted red with ochre.

More multifarious are the preparatory tasks incumbent on the men. At first they make a number of benches of split bamboo (guadua) almost square in form, each side about 1 1/2 meters in length, which are placed along the walls of the house and also in the middle close to the central pillars of the ante-room (tangámasha). These benches, which are called peáka, serve as seats during the day and as bedsteads during the night. For feasts some new ones must always be made for the guests who pass the nights in the house. Some small round seats (chimbui), for one man to sit upon, are also made. One of these is made with special care. Upon this stool the principal person of the feast, the slayer, will sit during the ceremonies.

The fetching of a number of large chonta trunks from the forest also belongs to the earlier preparations for the feast. They will serve as firewood at the same, and have to be brought in good time in order that they may dry. [319]

1: Karsten--317-320
116, 727

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

Two weeks before its commencement the younger men are sent to hunt in the forest and to fish in the small rivers. These hunting and fishing expeditions before a feast are considered very important, for a good supply of game and fish must be procured for the guests. Generally these expeditions last for 15 days. The game and fish are always brought home in a dried condition.

The fishing is carried out by varvasco poison, called timo by the Jibaros, or by another poison called masu. With this poison the water is poisoned in a certain part of the small river chosen for the purpose, the river being previously barred with sticks and stones.

Similarly, two weeks previously some heads of green bananas are hung up on the ceiling of the house, in order that they may get yellow and ripen. Ripe bananas (tsamá) form one of the dishes offered to the guests at the feast.

The last work which has to be performed by the men consists in weaving a dozen large baskets (changina), used by the women at the feast for carrying home the great quantity of manioc, camote, and other fruits needed for the daily common banquet. The work is done by the younger male members of the family as well as by their friends from other houses. The slayer himself goes round to the houses inviting the younger men, his most intimate friends, to help at the work. The youths first go out into the forest in order to collect the liana used for basket weaving, called kâpi, and thereafter assemble in the house of the feast-giver, where the work is done. It lasts for two or three days. When it is finished the slayer expresses his thanks to the young men for their help, addressing each of them separately in a few words and at the same time inviting them to the feast.

During these days the victor has been engaged in inviting other people also to the feast, going round alone from house to house. The invitation is always made in a ceremonial way, the slayer addressing the person concerned in a sort of speech and speaking in a loud voice. While thus going from house to house, the slayer does not carry his lance, but only a staff, in observance of the rules prescribed for him as regards the wearing of arms.

A few days previous to the arrival of other guests, two old persons arrive in the house who will play important rôles at the feast. One is an old man and warrior, who himself has killed some enemies and celebrated at least one victory-feast. This man is called *whuéa*, and may be said to act as priest at the feast, all ceremonies being carried out with [320] his assistance. In most cases he is the same person who conducted the ceremonies at the feasts *Numbuimártinyu* and *Suamártinyu*.

The other person is an old woman, called *oháha*, who at the feast will conduct all ceremonies performed by the women, especially the incantations and conjurations, acting thus, as it were, as a priestess. She has also led such ceremonies at the earlier minor feasts. Both the *whuéa* and the *oháha* are paid for their services, the former

1: Karsten--317-320 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727 (1928-29)

receiving from the slayer an itipi (loin-cloth), the latter a woman's garment (called tarachi). They also receive some flesh from the swine slaughtered at the feast."

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116, 727 (1928-29)

"Immediately after the basket work is finished, a dance, or rather a series of conjurations, takes place, which, on account of the word uuimina ('go away!) often pronounced therein, is called Wuimchi. This dance, which may be regarded as an introduction to the feast proper, is performed during the four last nights before the latter commences, and its aim seems to be in part to paralyze the danger which is supposed to proceed from the tsantsa, in part to increase the magical power of the trophy and make it effective in different departments of the economic and social life of the Indians. With the dance Wuimchi, therefore, the victory-feast may be said to begin.

This dance and the corresponding conjurations are performed by the younger men and women, especially by the men, the nearest friends of the slayer. In the first place those youths take part in it who made the baskets. The rest of the guests do not arrive until some days later, when the feast proper begins.

As is the case with most Indian dances, the Wuimchi commences when darkness sets in, about 6 o'clock. The slayer himself, in his quality of host, goes round in the house and invites his friends to take part in the dance.

The men do not dress in festival dresses for this dance; the women again, as usual, wear the rattles of snail shells round the waist.

Wuimchi is a ring dance. All men and women arrange themselves in a circle round the central pillar of the house and move round in slow time, holding each other's hands.

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

The dance is accompanied by conjurations. The first conjuration especially refers to the game, the dancers enumerating all those quadrupeds and birds which are most hunted by the Jibaros. First of all, different kinds of monkeys are mentioned, which are much appreciated by the Indians on account of their flesh, their fur, and their teeth. The [322] tsantsa thus, by virtue of its supernatural power will, among other things, promote the hunting luck of the victor. From the last incantations it moreover appears that it will also exert a favourable influence upon the home industry of the Indians--weaving, basket raddling, etc.

The Wuimchi is begun with shrill whistles. Thereafter the dancers proceed to enunciate the respective names, moving round the pillar, each word being followed by a sonorous 'hej!'

The conjuration runs as follows;
Hej, hej, hej!
Yakuma a, hej! 'there is the howling monkey' (Yakuma, Myletes).
Kapändinyu a, hej! 'there is the red one'; (the howling monkey is red).
Chuo a, hej! 'there is the brown monkey' (chuo).
Washi a, hej! 'there is the black monkey' (washi).
Sepuro a, hej! 'there is the long-haired monkey' (sepuro).
Tsiri a hej! 'there is the capuchin monkey' (tsiri).

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116, 727 (1928-29)

Tsema a, hej! 'there is the gray monkey' (tséma).
Pakki a, hej! 'there is the wild hog' (pakki).
Kávashu a, hej! 'there is the green parrot' (kávashu).
Púsurshu a, hej! 'there is the long-tailed one' (the macaw).
Máshu a, hej! 'there is the paugi' (mashu).
Kuchi a, hej! 'there is the domestic swine' (kuchi).
Kúturama a, hej! 'there is swine's lard'.
Ayandasta a, hej! 'there is the women's clothing'.
Ikichi, a, hej! 'there is the girdle to confine the clothing with.'
Changina a, hej! 'there is the raddled basket,' etc.

This conjuration is continued for about one hour, the dancers meantime moving alternately to right and to left. Every time they stop to move in the opposite direction they give loud whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi, chi,' as if to keep up with these shouts the continuity of the conjuration.

Another conjuration is devoted to women and the fecundity of the women. The fruitfulness of the women, consequently, will be one more of the beneficial effects of the tsantsa.

This conjuration is as follows:

Hej! hej! hej!

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Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kanutpia, hej! [323]
Kanutpia, hej!
Nihantsi suruchu kanutpia, hej!
Kanutpani hitia, hej!
Numbitinya, hej!
Nihĭrseisaka, kahetpia, hej!
Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kahetpia, hej!
Nikasneiti, hej!
Eitgamue, hej!
Pingerati, hej!
Maketi, hej!

The word noa means 'woman'. Kanutpia, kahetpia, numbintinya, nihĭrseisaka, are different expressions for the sexual act. Nihántsi surúchu 'may the tsantsa grant it;' nikasneiti 'may it be true'; eitgamue 'so you will do;' pingerati 'may it be nice;' maketi 'it is enough'.

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-§
116, 727 (1928-29)

Of an altogether different kind is the conjuration now beginning. It is the mysterious song to the bird kungúpi, a word therein repeatedly pronounced. The soft melody seems to indicate that the song of kungúpi is in part a prayer, in part a conjuration. The youths, while singing, dance in a ring round the pillar as before.

. . . .

Kungúpi is a mysterious nightbird which the Jibaros regard with superstitious dread, believing that the soul of the murdered enemy may take the shape of that bird and then send them sickness and death. Whether we are here dealing with a purely mythical bird or a really existing one, I have not been able to ascertain. To the mind of the Jibaros, of course, it is a real bird; but none of the Indians has been [324] able to show me the bird kungúpi or to describe it to me in more detail. Very long ago, the Jibaros told me, one of their ancestors suddenly died at a feast, and his death was ascribed to the bird kungúpi, the shape of which the killed enemy was supposed to have taken. Since that time, at every victory-feast, they sing a special conjuration to the ominous bird in order to prevent the repetition of such an incident.

Having for a while merely repeated the word kungúpi in a certain melody, the dancers continue with the phrases mana, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, and wúimina, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, which is a formula for conjuring away the fatal bird (wúimina go away; michaki 'may you get cold! 'may you stiffen!'--an expression frequently used in similar conjurations).

Another conjuration of the same kind is the following chant:

Yawá nu ikyáma,
Yawá nu ikyáma,
Yawártaki takarseipya,
Wúimina chianga,
Huimya, huimya,
Wúimina chianga,
Wúimina chianga,
Umaná michakia,
Wúimina michaki,
Umaná chiangá,
Umaná chiasua
Umaná chianga,
Núruna chásamana,
Táhita chíangana, etc.

In this chant it is particularly 'the tiger in the forest' (yawánu ikyáma) that is the object of the conjuration (yawartaki tákarseipya 'tiger, don't touch us!' wúimina, míchakia--'go away, get cold!'), in order that he may not come and kill the Indians. Evidently it is believed that the tiger (jaguar) is another shape which the soul of the killed enemy may assume when trying to take revenge upon the victor.

Now a series of other conjurations follow, the general object of which seems to be to increase the magical power of the tsantsa. A number of short formulas are repeated, the exact meaning of which seems to be unknown even to the dancing Indians themselves. We are here dealing with archaic or ceremonial language which is understood by some, at the most, of the oldest Indians. The dancing youths repeat the same phrase for about an hour. Then some old Indian recites another similar formula of conjuration in a special melody, and this is in its turn repeated for a while in the same way. Each formula is finished with shrill whistles and shouts of '*chi*, *chi*, *chi*,' and such exclamations also accompany the interruption which takes place when the dancers change from the right [325] to the left and vice versa. Examples of such formulas, unintelligible as to their exact meaning, are the following:

Mainia mainiatekana.
Kukuyukunta, kuuyukunta.
Sivu, sivu, sivahamba.
Sirumbachi wahe, etc.

The dancers thus, for instance, for half an hour may incessantly repeat the formula *mainia mainiatekana, mainia mainiatekana,* continuing thereafter with another formula.

Other formulas of conjuration are more intelligible, as for instance the following:

Amue sinchimaka, chikichitantani, aya, aya,
Amue sinchimaka, himeritantani, aya, aya:
'Make thee strong, make thee powerful, my only *tsantsa.*'

In ceremonial language the Jibaros often make use of certain Quichua words, which are very rare in their language. The word *sinchi* is Quichua and means 'strong'; likewise the word *aya*, which means 'soul', 'dead man'. In the formula mentioned the soul of the enemy, materialized in the *tsantsa*, is spoken to directly.

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The phrases are in most cases recited quite monotonously or almost as when one speaks. In other cases they are sung in a special melody, ...

During the days that the dance Wuimchi takes place the tsantsa, enveloped in a cloth, is kept hanging over one of the fires in the house in [326] such a way that it is always surrounded by the smoke from the fire. The object of keeping the trophy in this way is partly to kill the microbes which are likely to destroy it, partly, as it seems, to mortify the spirit of the dead enemy. The spirit (wakáni), according to the idea of the Indians, always keeps in the neighbourhood of the tsantsa and now and then approaches the head in the ghostly, invisible shape of a man. During the dance and the conjurations the Indians at times move away from the chonta pillar round which they dance and make a tour of the house, when they also approach the trophy hanging over the fire and chant to it.

The slayer himself does not take part in the dance, but he is not allowed to sleep at all during the night. Sitting on a sort of chair of honour specially made for him, he merely looks on the performance, only now and then giving the young men a sign to stop dancing or to begin again. Outside the ring some old women take their stand, offering manioc-beer to the dancing men and women, who by turns step out from the ring to empty a pininga of the drink. As a rule, the women only take part in the beginning of the dance; the men, on the contrary, have to continue with it until dawn. At

1; Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
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6 o'clock an older Indian comes and gives three strokes with a staff to the chonta pillar round which the dancers move. This is a signal for them to finish the dance for that night. All the young men and women now run out and down to the river, where they bathe. All the dances of the Jibaros are finished with such a general bath in the river.

The dance Wuimchi is also continued during the following three nights."

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

"The following day, that is, three days before the feast proper begins, the manioc-beer to be served to the many guests, and also a manioc-wine which is to be drunk at the end of the feast, are prepared. The preparation of both these drinks, and especially of the manioc-wine, is of a ceremonial character. The main thing is to make them as strong as possible, this being essential for the success of the feast. The slayer himself, therefore, must personally assist in the work in order to transfer his own power to the beverages. The leading principle in the whole Tsantsa-feast, as already mentioned, is that the slayer, by virtue of the close relation established between him and the spirit of his victim, becomes invested with supernatural power and knowledge which he is trying to use for his own ends and to make effective in different departments of his economic life.

Early in the morning all the women, headed by the wife of the slayer and the priestess (oháha), go out to the manioc fields to fetch the manioc for preparing the drinks mentioned. Each of the women carries one of the baskets (changina) just made, and they are accompanied by the men armed with lances. The manioc which is to be brought home by the wife of the slayer, and of which the important manioc-wine is to be prepared, is gathered with especial care. When the woman pulls up the first stalk of manioc--which ought to be particularly large and well grown--the priestess is holding her wrist and likewise helps her to lay it down in the basket. Then she fills the basket with other manioc roots without the aid of the priestess. The women return to the house with their baskets in about two hours, and at once start the preparations. The fruit is washed and the majority of it is peeled, parted, and boiled in various large clay pots. From this manioc, by masticating and mashing the fruit, fermented manioc substance is later prepared. [328]

The manioc-wine (shiki) is prepared in another way. For this purpose the manioc is first roasted, not boiled, a work performed by the priest (whuéa) at a big fire outside the house, with the assistance of some other Indians. As soon as a sufficient quantity of the fruit has been roasted it is taken into the house and laid on some large banana leaves. At the side of it three baskets (changina) are placed, which are to be filled with the roasted fruit. A heap of certain large forest leaves, called kachini by the Jibaros, and another heap of a smaller kind of leaf called wambá are also placed close by. On a special banana leaf there is a piece of salt and a piece of the stem of the manioc plant with the rind, wich [sic] has previously been roasted.

Now the roasted fruit has to be laid in the three baskets, and at this the slayer himself and his wife and daughter have to assist, the priest (whuéa) conducting the ceremonies. The latter, who has previously prepared some tobacco juice in his nattipya, gives some of this medicine, first to the slayer and then to his wife and daughter, the first mentioned, as usual, receiving it through the nose, the latter through the mouth. The priest subsequently grasps the slayer by the wrist and the latter leans down and

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

takes one of the large kachini leaves and lays it carefully down upon the bottom of one of the three baskets. Thereupon he, with the aid of the priest, takes one of the smaller wamba leaves and lays it in the same way in the basket upon the first leaf. Then the slayer, whose hand is still held by the priest, takes one of the roasted maniocs and opens it with his fingers. An older Indian holds out the leaf with the salt and the roasted manioc stem, the latter having previously been scraped with a knife, so that a small quantity of a brown powder has been obtained. The slayer with two fingers takes a little of this powder and puts it into the parted manioc fruit. Then he takes a piece of salt, bites off a little of it, and puts this small piece into the fruit. He then closes the latter with his hands and lays it carefully in the basket upon the leaves previously laid there. Exactly the same is repeated with another manioc. The slayer opens the fruit with his fingers, puts a little of the brown powder as well as a small piece of salt into it, and then lays the fruit in the basket at the side of the manioc first placed there. Thereupon he takes a large kachini leaf, as well as a wambá leaf, and lays these in the basket upon the fruit. While all these operations are being performed the wrist of the slayer is held by the priest. Now the same is repeated with the wife of the slayer, whose right hand is held by the old man. She takes a manioc, opens it, sprinkles some of the brown powder and a [329] little salt into it, again closes it, and then places it in the basket upon the leaves last laid down there. A second manioc is in like manner put into the basket by her. Lastly, she covers the fruit with a *kachini* and a *wambá* leaf, just as was done by the slayer. Finally, the daughter of the slayer performs the same action, putting two maniocs into the basket and covering them with the leaves, the girl being in the same way assisted by the priest. In all, six manioc fruits have thus been ceremonially placed in the basket.

An older Indian now continues the work of filling the basket with roasted manioc until it is nearly full, but he does it without ceremony and is not assisted by the priest. Nor is the brown powder or the salt put into the fruit. However, the last maniocs with which the basket is filled must again be laid down by the slayer, his wife, and daughter, and with the same ceremonies as before. Each of them thus, with the assistance of the priest, again places two maniocs in the basket, sprinkling some of the brown powder and a little salt into them and covering them with the leaves. The basket having been filled, the slayer, assisted by the priest, carefully covers it with leaves and ties it over with lianas.

With exactly the same ceremonies the two other baskets are filled, the slayer, his wife, and daughter always laying down the first and the last maniocs and covering them with leaves.

At the other end of the house, in the women's quarters, a sort of shelter or broad shelf has been made of split bamboo, resting upon four poles about 1 1/2 or 2 metres in height. Under this shelter the large clay pots in which the manioc substance is laid for fermenting are later placed upon the ground. Even the three baskets containing the roasted manioc are brought here. They are not laid on the ground, but are hung up to the roof by means of a special pole fixed in the ground. The slayer himself carries the baskets here from the place where they had been filled with the fruit, the priest holding his hands. The slayer takes the pole and fixes it in the ground close to one of the four poles upon which the shelter rests. Other men complete the work, fixing the pole more steadily in the ground and tying it to the other poles. The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, lifs [sic] up one of the three baskets and hangs it upon the pole. Thereafter, with the aid of the priest, he hangs the two other baskets upon the pole.

The baskets are left hanging here for three days until the beginning of the feast, manioc-wine being then prepared from them in a way to be described later. During these days the fruit will 'ripen' properly; [330] the powder and the salt put into the manioc will impregnate the fruit and exert some mysterious influence to the effect that the wine prepared from it will turn out exceedingly strong. To the kachini and wambá leaves, placed in the baskets, some mysterious influence is also ascribed.

While this work was being done by the slayer, his wife and daughter, and some of the men, the rest of the women, headed by the priestess, have been engaged in preparing the manioc-beer (nihamánchi). After the root has been boiled it has to be masticated, a work which takes some two hours to perform. The masticating of the manioc for the feasts is a real ceremony and is called Nauma. Generally only the women take part in it, since the preparation of the beer is a work particularly incumbent on the women. Of the fruit, however, only a part, or at the most a half, is masticated. The rest of it is only mashed. The manioc masticated is thoroughly mixed with saliva and then spat into a number of large clay pots (muitsa). To each of these some of the mashed manioc is added and the whole substance is carefully stirred.

Generally the pots are now only covered with banana leaves and the substance allowed to ferment. For the great feasts, however, a special ferment, consisting of previously chewed and fermented manioc, is added in order that the beer may turn out stronger. A small clay vessel with this ferment is kept ready. The following operations are, in the main, carried out only by the women--first of all by the wife of the slayer, who is assisted by the priestess (oháha). However, even the slayer himself must assist at some actions, to transfer his power to the beverage. The wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the priestess, carries each of the pots containing the manioc substance to the shelter before mentioned, where the fermentation will take place. Six or eight large pots are thus placed under the shelter in holes previously made in the ground for the purpose. In order that the pots may stand more steadily they are supported underneath by pieces of the genipa fruit. These pieces are placed under the pots by the

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

slayer in a ceremonial way, his hands being meantime held by the priest. The wife of the slayer, assisted by the *oháha*, now puts a little of the manioc ferment just mentioned into each of the pots, but before the ferment is put in the slayer has each time to taste a little of it. The pots are then carefully covered with large leaves by the wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the *oháha*, and finally tied with lianas.

Some of the large clay pots are tied on the outside with strips of bast in such a way as to form ornamental figures or patterns like those formed [331] in basket weaving. The real significance of this arrangement is not quite clear. It is possible that its object is only to give strength to the pots so that they shall not burst at the fermentation of the manioc substance. But it is also possible that some mysterious power is ascribed to the strips as well as to the ornaments formed by them--a power which will promote the fermentation and contribute to making the beverage strong. This, at any rate, is the object of the genipa fruit placed under the pots. The genipa--from which the magical black body-paint is prepared--will communicate its power to the pots and the sacred substance contained in them, a power further increased by the fact that the slayer himself places the fruit there.

It is supposed to be of essential importance that the clay pots should be placed firmly in the ground, for then the fermentation also will take place steadily, and no disturbing influences will make themselves felt.

1; Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

All these preparations have taken the main part of the day to accomplish, and are not finished until the afternoon. The fermentation, which in a way is the most important detail of the whole thing, however, still has to take place. In order to hurry or favourably influence the process of fermentation all the women sit down on the ground around the pots containing the manioc substance and, led by the priestess, sing a sort of chant or conjuration. With this ceremony, which lasts for about half an hour, the preparation of the manioc-beer ends.

The fact that only the women have to brew the manioc-beer--which is the rule among all Indians--is due to the same reason as makes the cultivation of the manioc fields a business solely incumbent on the female sex. According to the animistic ideas of the Jibaros, as we have seen, all plants are animated by human spirits (wakáni), some of male sex, some of female. The manioc, like most other domestic plants, has a woman's soul. Hence--according to the principle 'like is best known by like'--the women have to cultivate this plant just as, in regard to the preparation of the manioc-beer, they are believed to have a special power of promoting that mysterious and, to the Indian mind, unintelligible process of nature which is called fermentation."

1: Karsten--331-333 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 789 (1928-29)

"After the slayer has, in the way described, assisted in the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine, his role with regard to the preparations for the feast is finished. The following days and nights he has to spend outside his own house, making on the third day, when the feast commences, his solemn entrance into the same. The first two of the three nights he thus stays outside he passes in another house a few [332]doors away from his own; the third night, again, in a shelter made at a short distance from the house of the feast. The priest (whuéa), who always must remain in the neighbourhood of the slayer and take care of him, accompanies him on this excursion.

All the three nights that the slayer is absent his friends in the house of the feast, and particularly the young men, perform the dance Wuimchi in the same way as on the first night, from the fall of night until the dawn.

On the afternoon of the day previous to the commencement of the feast, when the slayer has been absent for two nights, the following ceremony takes place in a shelter made a short distance from the house of the feast. Some of the older Indians take the trophy which, as usual, is kept hanging over the fire, place it upon a shield and carry it to the shelter mentioned. In this shelter the slayer and the priest now stay, and they will also pass the following third and last night there. Outside it a fire is made. A chonta staff is fixed in the ground close by the fire. The priest gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose, then grasps his hand and makes him hang the tsantsa on the top of the chonta staff. With the aid of the priest, he places three small round stones, provided for the purpose, upon the fire to be heated. When they are sufficiently hot, the slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes up one of them by means of a stick cleft at the end, and drops it into the head through the opening at the neck, holding the trophy with the left hand. The small stone is allowed to roll to and fro in the head for a moment; then the slayer takes it out and puts it back on the fire. The priest again gives him tobacco juice, whereupon the same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third one. Every time that the slayer puts a stone into the head the priest is holding his hand, and each stone, after being used in the way described, is again put on the fire, where the stones are ultimately left. The trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta staff. The priest grasps the slayer by the wrist and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa with his hand, at the same time saying: Kakáruma, pangi ishamakaipa, --'Have courage; do not fear the great serpent'. The trophy is subsequently taken back to the house by the other men, but the slayer and the priest remain in the shelter.

As we find, the same ceremony is repeated here as was earlier performed with the trophy previous to beginning the work of preparing it. The procedure with the small heated stones seems to be merely to [333] mortify the soul of the enemy, attached to the

1: Karsten--331-333 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 789 (1928-29)

head, to protect the slayer against the revengeful ghost, and favourably to prepare for the important incident which will take place on the following day--the entrance of the victor into the house of the feast.

That the object of the ceremony described is essentially to paralyze the danger threatening the slayer from the dead enemy, may also be concluded from the last words addressed to him by the priest in which he is warned not to fear the 'great serpent.' The great boa serpent (pangi) is the most formidable of all demons who people the spiritual world of the Jibaros. He is the original father of witchcraft; it is from his body that the sorcerers receive the poison with which their organism is impregnated and the invisible arrow (túnchi), which they discharge at their victims. After death the souls of the medicine-men are also believed to enter into the boa. The Jibaros, like all Indians, therefore particularly fear this monster, and when they kill a boa they think that they kill a powerful sorcerer. From the above statement it appears that the giant serpent also is one of those shapes in which the spirit of the killed enemy is believed to meet the slayer."

1; Karsten--334-335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 293 (1928-29)

"Those guests who have come from far arrive at the house of the feast on the eve of the day fixed for the same. They do not, however, enter the house, but pass the night in provisional shelters made outside. It is not until the following morning at 5 o'clock that the doors are opened and the guests can enter. Gradually the guests who live near arrive. Before entering the house all arrange their dress, which the Jibaro Indian always does when he is about to make a visit to another house. In a sort of net-bag (shigra), carried on the back, the men have brought with them their best clothing and ornaments, first of all a new loin-cloth (itipi). In another smaller bag they carry a comb, a small mirror, a small round gourd containing a red dye for painting the body, called mushpa or aratinyu, as well as certain other small things. At a rivulet the Indian makes his toilet; he unties his thick hair, washes it, combs it, and ties it up again in the three usual pigtails. The band with which the big pigtail at the neck is wound round is adorned with tucan feathers and human hair. On his head he places some feather ornament, a crown made of red and yellow tucan feathers, called tawása, or another ornament of yellow macaw feathers, which is tied round the head, and is called tendéarma. Older warriors are often seen wearing a sort of cap of monkey's skin or an ornament made of squirrels' tails (kunámbi). The face, and especially the region around the eyes, is painted red in different ways, some Indians simply coating the face with the paint, others applying geometrical patterns to it. A new loin-cloth (itipi) is

1: Karsten--334-335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 293 (1928-29)

always put on before entering the house, a girdle of human hair (akáchu) being used to fix it with. Some additional ornaments are put on later for the dance at night.

The women always pay less attention to their dress and wear fewer ornaments than the men. The principal garment of the women is called taráchi, and a new one is as a rule made for a feast. Since weaving is an [335] industry exclusively incumbent on the men, they always make the clothes of their wives. On the crown of the head the women on festive occasions generally wear a red-painted cotton band, called tiringsa. In the ear-lobes they wear similar sticks (arusa) as do the men, but much smaller, and besides, in the lower lip the small pin of wood called tukúnu. Both the arusa and the tukúnu are mostly ornamented with incised figures.

For the dances the women also paint their faces, although not as much as the men. Around their necks the women wear a necklace of beads called shaúka, and the upper arms are tied round with cotton strings called patáki. For the dances they always put on a broad girdle or rattle of snail shells (kúngu); but these rattles are not ornaments but a means of conjuration."

1: Karsten--335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests enter the house [JKM: for the first day of the victory feast] they are received by the hosts--the father, brothers, or sons of the slayer--with a ceremonial greeting. The men generally enter three or four at a time. Each of them utters a loud: 'Winyáhei,' 'I come,' whereupon all arrange themselves in a row close to the door, with their lances stretched forth, and remain motionless until they are spoken to by the hosts. Some of the boys in the house step forward and hand a small round chair (kutánga) to each of the guests, who now take a seat, but still without uttering a word, and holding their lances between their knees. The hosts, having arranged their dress and painted their faces, take their seats, each sitting in front of the guest to whom he is going to speak, and only utter the word winiti, 'may you come.' This is the signal to the guest that he may start speaking. He mentions that he has been invited to the feast, that he has accepted the invitation and arrived to honour the victor, etc. The conversation mostly turns on the feast, the preparations made for it, the number of swine bred for the same, the number of guests invited, etc. The host and the guest speak in turns not in the ordinary conversational tone but shouting. Each conversation lasts for about 10 minutes, and each guest has to be spoken to separately by some one of the hosts. During the conversation manioc-beer is repeatedly served to the guests by the women in the house. Each guest has to empty at least three dishes (pininga) of this drink. After this ceremonial reception the guests may step forth from the door and move about in the house

1: Karsten--335
116, 727, 576

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

at liberty; and other guests arriving are received in the same manner.

Only the men are received in this ceremonial way. The women, following their husbands, fathers, or brothers, enter without any form of salutation and are not particularly spoken to by the hosts."

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"All the guests having arrived and been properly received by the hosts, preparations are immediately made for receiving the victor himself, whose solemn entrance now takes place.

Some of the oldest warriors take the trophy, which has been kept hanging in the smoke over the fire, place it on a shield and carry it to the shelter outside of the house, where the slayer and the priest have passed the third night. Here in part the same ceremony is repeated as took place on the previous day. The tsantsa is placed on the top of a chonta stick fixed in the ground. The priest gives the slayer juice of tobacco and helps him to hang the trophy on himself, over the breast. The priest takes his stand immediately behind the slayer, and behind them the other warriors range themselves in a row, armed with lances, shields, and firearms. All proceed, slowly and ceremoniously toward the house, the priest holding his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer. In front of the latter another old Indian goes, holding the chonta stick in his hand. He fixes the stick in the ground a few steps in advance of the slayer. As soon as the latter, walking slowly, has reached the chonta stick, the old man removes it and again fixes it in the ground some steps in front of the slayer, and so on, until they reach the door of the house. During this march the slayer repeatedly receives tobacco juice through the nose, administered by the priest. At the door the procession stops. The slayer takes off his old loin-cloth and puts on a new one which is held ready. Then, with the aid of the priest, he takes off the trophy, which is tied to a chonta lance. The priest takes the lance, with the trophy tied to it, quickly passes it in through the door, takes it out again, and again passes it inside, fixing it firmly in the ground close to the door (Pl. XXVIII).

Meanwhile the other men and the women arrange themselves to receive the victor, whose entrance into the house takes place under the same ceremonial conditions as at the feast Numbuimártinyu. Now, just as on that occasion, the dance Ihiámbrama is performed, the wife and daughter of the slayer playing the principal part among the women. The women appear from the interior of the house, arranged in a row, holding each other by the hands, with rattles of snail shells round their waists. Foremost of the women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. On each side of them the men stand in two rows.

Immediately before the dance Ihiámbrama takes place, two warriors rush into the house from outside, between the rows, brandishing lances and shields and giving war cries as if they were charging against an enemy. They are followed by a third warrior brandishing a rifle, with which [337] he fires a shot in the air. These warriors are preparing the way for the victor. The latter now receives tobacco juice from the priest through the nose, and his wife and daughter receive it through the mouth. The daughter then seizes the slayer from behind at the waist with both hands, while his wife, heading

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727 (1928-29)

the rest of the women, gives him her right hand. All now dance into the interior of the house to the accompaniment of rattles, drums, and flutes, and immediately return to the door. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice more, but the second and third times the slayer holds the tsantsa in his right hand, with his arm stretched out, while proceeding with the women into the interior of the house. The dance *Ihiámbrama* is thus repeated three times, just as at the previous minor feasts.

The *tsantsa* is again tied to a chonta lance and the latter is fixed in the ground at the door, the usual way of keeping the trophy when it is not needed for the ceremonies.

All the ceremonies described have one and the same object, namely, to protect the victor from the spirit of his enemy. Within the house those conjurations will take place through which the *wakáni* is trodden under foot, mortified, and completely made the slave of his conqueror. The first entrance into the house is, therefore, believed to be particularly critical for the latter. When the victor approaches the house the spirit is believed to meet him in the invisible shape of a man, trying to kill him. Tobacco juice is repeatedly given him to increase his power of resistance against the machinations of the invisible enemy. The chonta staff fixed in the ground in front of the slayer, when he approaches the house, has for its object to prevent the *wakáni* from meeting him. The three warriors, who, previous to the dance *Ihiámbrama*, rushed into the house brandishing their weapons and shooting, were likewise trying to keep off this enemy and inspire him with terror, for the lance and the shield, and still more shots from firearms, are feared even by the spirits. Lastly, the object of the whole dance Ihiámbrama, as we have seen before, is to secure the victor's first entrance into the house.

The ceremonies at the 'entrance' of the victor may vary somewhat in certain details. Thus at another victory-feast the proceedings were as follows. Some of the older warriors took the tsantsa, placed it on a shield, and carried it with caution to the shelter outside the house, where the slayer and the priest had passed the third night. The shield, with the tsantsa, was set down on the ground, and all the warriors started to [338]dance around it, making menacing gestures at it with their lances. Thereafter the slayer, followed by the other warriors, began slowly to move toward the house. The priest placed the shield, with the tsantsa, on the ground a few steps in front of the slayer. As soon as the latter had reached the shield, the priest again moved it a short distance from him on the ground, and so on, until they reached the door of the house. Here the slayer exchanged his old loin-cloth for a new one. The priest made him touch the tsantsa with his mouth and helped him to hang it round his neck. Thereupon the dance Ihiámbrama took place in the way described above.

With these introductory ceremonies the official part of the morning's program is finished. A general drinking-bout now commences, manioc-beer being brought in large piningas to each of the guests by the women. Food is also offered them consisting of boiled manioc and boiled ripe bananas, as well as of meat, game and fish. Those persons who have played some particularly important part at the ceremonies are, however, obliged to fast. This, of course, first of all applies to the slayer himself, his wife, and daughter, who, as mentioned before, have to abstain from every kind of meat and are only allowed to eat certain fruits. The priest (whuéa), who assists them, both now and during the following days must abstain from eating swine's flesh. His most important duty is to prepare tobacco juice, mixed with saliva, which medicine he has continually to give to the slayer, as well as to his wife and daughter. Should he touch swine's flesh, which the persons mentioned are strictly prohibited from eating, the tobacco which he gives them would become polluted and made ineffective. Likewise, the priestess (oháha), who conducts the ceremonies of the women, is prohibited from tasting pork. Like the priest, she during the feast mainly eats chicken, together with manioc and other fruits. The two warriors who, previous to the dance Ihiámbrama, rushed into the house with lances and shields, and the third warrior who followed them firing a shot into the air, are also obliged to fast on that day on account of their having taken part in an important ceremony of conjuration. Thus they are allowed to drink only a small quantity of manioc-beer, which is served to them in small clay dishes specially made for the purpose.

Later in the forenoon the preparation of the manioc-wine, which was begun three days ago, is continued. The roasted manioc which was then hung up in the three

1; Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 727 (1928-29)

baskets, filled and arranged with so much care, is now supposed to have properly ripened. The slayer, accompanied [339] by the priest and other men, goes to the shelter where the baskets had been hung up. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes down the baskets one after the other and starts to open them, proceeding with the utmost care and being always assisted by the old man. The slayer and the priest both taste the fruit in each basket to convince themselves of its having acquired the necessary virtue for the preparation of the wine. The women start to masticate the roasted fruit in the same way as the boiled manioc is masticated for brewing ordinary manioc-beer. A part of the fruit masticated is then separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing a special manioc substance from it by means of fermentation. Of this substance a kind of manioc-beer will be brewed, to be drunk after the most important ceremony of the feast, the washing of the tsantsa, two days later. Again, of the rest of the fruit masticated the proper manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), to be consumed on the last day of the feast, is prepared in the following way.

A clay pot is placed on the ground, and the slayer and his wife and daughter, as well as the priest, take their stand in front of it. On a banana leaf a number of wooden pins have been laid, made from the twigs of a special wild tree which the Jibaros call shuya and which produces a sweet black fruit similar to grapes. On another banana leaf have been laid some leaves of another forest tree called apai. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes one of the *shuya* pins and slowly and carefully places it inside the pot--about in the middle of it--in a horizontal position. His wife and daughter, whose hands are likewise held by the priest, also put one pin each in the pot beside the first one. Another man completes the work, putting without ceremony some other similar pins into the pot until they have been laid along its whole breadth, with a distance of about half an inch between each. Now the slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes an *apai* leaf and cautiously places it across the *shuya* pins. The wife and the daughter do the same, each laying down one *apai* leaf in the pot at the side of the first one. Several more *apai* leaves are laid down, until the *shuya* pins are completely covered with them. Lastly, these leaves are perforated all over with a wooden pin, so that the whole thing becomes like a sieve.

The masticated manioc substance is now laid in the pot upon the leaves. The slayer and his wife and daughter again begin the work, each of them laying down, with the aid of the priest, a small quantity of the substance. The pot is wholly filled with it, and the mouth is covered first with some *apai* leaves and then with some large *kachini* leaves [340] (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) the whole thing being lastly carefully tied over with lianas. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, now places the pot upon the shelter mentioned before, where it is left for two days and two nights. During this time the essence in the masticated manioc substance will be distilled and drop into the lower empty part of the pot. This essence is the manioc-wine.

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727 (1928-29)

In the afternoon, at about 4 o'clock, two swine and some hens are slaughtered to provide food for the guests during the two following days. The proper ceremonial slaughter does not take place until the penultimate day of the feast. The flesh of the swine now killed, however, cannot be cooked until midnight, or about 1 o'clock on the following morning, and will be eaten early on the following day."

1: Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

"When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock, the general feast dance begins which is called Hantsēmáta. All take part in it, both hosts and guests, man and women; first of all, however, the latter. The slayer himself goes round and invites the guests to take part in the dance speaking separately to each of them. The dance is conducted by an elderly Indian who previously gives tobacco water to the women. All who are going to take part in it are dressed in the proper way. The women, as usual, wear their rattles of snail shells round the waist. Some of the men put on additional ornaments for the dance--first of all a back ornament made of the bones of the bird tayu (Steatornis), called tayukúnchi, which is adorned with human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed birds of the forest with brilliant plumes.

The face and the uncovered part of the body is carefully painted with red ochre (Bixa orellana), animal figures and figures of snakes as well as geometric ornaments being the most common patterns. The older men prefer to paint themselves black in the face with genipa. Some younger men are seen painting themselves, previous to the dance, with tobacco juice, making with their fingers certain linear ornaments upon the face and breast--ornaments which, however, are hardly visible upon the brownish skin of the Indians. The body-painting with tobacco juice is supposed to be a good prophylactic for witchcraft.

The Hantsēmáta, which literally means: 'The killing of the enemy's soul (hantsa),' is a ring dance. The dancers hold each other by the hands and circle around the three central pillars of the house, forming a large ring, or rather an elliptical figure, and moving alternately to the right and to the left. The women first arrange themselves for the dance, and foremost among them are the wife and daughter of the slayer. Then [341] follow the men, and foremost among them the slayer, who thus during the dance is standing nearest to his wife and daughter. He carries the tsantsa hanging on his back during the whole time. Next to him the other men take their stand. At the dance the Indians move about in the same way as in the dance Ihiámbrama, hopping sideways, moving first the one and then the other foot in quick time. The women hold each other under the arms, jumping with both feet at once in order that their rattles may sound more loudly. Having moved round for a while to the right, the Indians change and dance to the left for a while, and vice versa. The dance is accompanied by a chant or conjuration, and this, too, is first performed by the women. This chant principally consists of an almost monotonous refrain,'oá, oá, oa-á-áo, 'etc. ,which is sung by the women in a deep and strong guttural voice, so that the whole song has a disagreeable, almost dismal, howling effect. When the dance reaches its climax the men also chant or shout, and the dancers seem sometimes almost to reach a state of ecstasy. Each time the men, during the dance, reach one of the doors at either end of the house, they stop for a moment, hop up and down on the spot, stamping on the ground and shouting in a loud

1; Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

voice: '*Hysti*, *hysti*, *hysti*, *hysti!*' At the same time the women hop on the spot, sounding their rattles, while the drums are beaten and the flutes played. This procedure is repeated for a long time. The dancers by this action are trying to keep off the spirit of the killed enemy, who, it is believed, is trying to enter through one of the doors to kill the victor.

During the dance certain words and phrases, adapted for the occasion, are also pronounced. Thus the name of the killed enemy is again and again mentioned, as are also the names of his relatives and the name of his native place. Similarly details of the war and of the battle, the lance with which the enemy was killed, or the knife with which his head was cut off, and even the canoe in which the victors went down, etc., are repeatedly mentioned. This dance, with short intervals, is continued until dawn. The men, however, do not take part in the dance the whole time, but sometimes leave the women alone. The latter, who are headed by the priestess, and among whom the wife and daughter of the slayer are the most active, first of all have to take part in the dance. The slayer himself also dances nearly the whole time, with the *tsantsa* hanging on his back. He is not allowed to sleep during the night.

Whereas even young girls of 8 or 10 years of age take part in the general dance, the half-grown boys seem to be excluded from it. These [342] have another task confided to them. When the older men and women arrange themselves for the dance, the boys are placed within the ring, and when the dance commences they engage in a savage wrestling match, continually throwing each other to the ground, again rising, again wrestling, etc. This wrestling is continued for about an hour in the same violent manner, but is not repeated later during the night. As to the significance of this wrestling, the Indians only gave the explanation that it is 'part of the feast'. The boys, as a matter of fact, had previously been instructed by an older Indian. The wrestling is thus of a ceremonial nature, and forms part of the general conjurations.

The dance Hantsēmáta is continued without interruption until about 1 o'clock, when there is a short interval. The flesh of the swine slaughtered in the afternoon of the day before has now to be cooked. According to the ritual of the feast, as already mentioned, the flesh of the swine slaughtered at the feast can only be cooked at midnight. On several large fires, made in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed, which are filled with the flesh cut into pieces. During the preparations for the cooking, and while the flesh is being boiled, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued with more vigour than before, all men and women who are not tending the fires being engaged in it. Likewise some hens are killed and their flesh is boiled. The Indian who conducts the dance is seen dancing for a while with two or three recently killed hens tied round his waist. The dance is supposed to hurry on the cooking of the flesh, and probably also to exert a favourable influence upon the increase of the domestic animals in future. As soon as

1; Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

the flesh is sufficiently cooked, the pots are taken off the fires and lifted up on the shelves to be preserved until morning. It is not until then that the flesh can be eaten.

The dance is then continued without interruption until the morning, being performed particularly by the women. About half past 5, or a little before dawn, all the men and women have to take part in it just as in the beginning. Having moved several times around the central pillars, all rush out from the house, continuing to hold each other by the hands, and run down to the river, where they take the usual bath. With this bath the ceremonies of that night are finished."

1; Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 276 (1928-29)

"At about 8 o'clock the principal ceremony of the second day, the drinking of the sacred drink natéma takes place. When the drink is prepared for the feast the slayer himself has to assist in order to transfer to it the supernatural power with which he is believed to be invested.

For the preparation of the natéma some pieces of the stem of the vine are cut off, crushed with clubs, and parted into thinner fibres, which are boiled in water for a couple of hours. The fibres are then taken out and the drink is ready. The natéma drink, which has the effect of producing in the drinker peculiar visions and hallucinations which are ascribed by the Indians to certain spirits, is generally mixed with some tobacco water, by which its narcotic effects are increased. At the tsantsa feast the second day is regularly devoted to the drinking of the natéma, and it is prepared and drunk with certain ceremonies which have now to be described.

Some pieces of the stem of the natéma plant are laid on a banana leaf on the ground. Upon another banana leaf a large and a small wooden club are laid, and with these the natéma stems are to be crushed. There is besides a pot in which the drink will be cooked. The priest as usual gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the wrist and makes him seize a club with his right hand and a natéma stem with his left and crush the stem, laying it upon the other club. The slayer divides the stem into three or four fibres and puts them down into the pot, the priest holding

1: Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 276 (1928-29)

his hand. Another Indian without ceremony crushes some other pieces of the natéma stem and arranges them in a ring within the pot. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, now pours some water into the pot from a water bottle and places the pot on the fire, some other men attending to the pot while it boils. [344]

At another fire close by tobacco is simultaneously being boiled, to be mixed with the natéma. A small clay pot is placed by the fire, and some leaves of tobacco are laid on a banana leaf at the side of it. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes a tobacco leaf and carefully puts it, first on the edge of the pot and then into it. The wife of the slayer repeats the process with another leaf, laying it first on the edge of the pot and then inside it. Lastly, a third tobacco leaf is in the same way put into the pot by the daughter of the slayer. Thereupon the slayer, assisted by the priest, pours some water into the pot and places it on the fire.

On the spot where the natéma is cooked there is also placed a piece of the stem of the manioc plant and two narrow strips of the bark of a tree which the Jibaros call samiki. The slayer takes one of the strips, winds it round his index finger, and ties it into a ring of the same size as the finger. By means of one end of the strip which after the tying of the ring has been left free, he then attaches the ring to the piece of the manioc stem. Thereupon he in the same way makes another ring of the other strip, of the size of his index finger, and attaches it to the manioc stem at the side of the first ring. With

1: Karsten--343-346
116, 727, 276

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

the aid of the priest he ultimately places the manioc stem, with the two rings attached to it, upon the tobacco pot boiling on the fire in such a way that it rests upon the edges of the pot.

The object of this ceremony is to establish a mysterious connection between the slayer, who, as we have seen, is supposed to be filled with supernatural power, the tobacco water to be mixed in the natéma drink, and the manioc plant which the persons drinking of the narcotic will see in the dream. The two rings formed of the rind of the samiki tree will in this connection serve as mediums for the transference of the power. The Jibaros ascribe magical virtues to the samiki tree itself, and a little of its bark is generally mixed with the natéma with a view to increasing the efficacy of the drink. The bast strips of the tree having been formed into rings of the same size as the slayer's finger, are believed to catch his power, and thus to transfer it to the manioc and the boiling tobacco pot. The persons partaking of the sacred drink are afterwards, in the narcotic sleep, supposed to see, among other things, the manioc fields of the slayer in a flourishing state and bearing a rich crop of fruit.

At the tsantsa feast the natéma is only boiled for about one hour, whereupon the pot is taken off the fire. Similarly the smaller pot in which tobacco has been cooked is taken away, the manioc stick with [345] the bast rings having first been removed. The latter is fixed in the wall close to the door, where it is left until it is dry and half consumed, being then thrown away.

The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, seizes the small tobacco pot and pours its contents into the natéma pot. The drink is now ready to be consumed.

In the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast both men and women, even half-grown children, take part, all 'who want to dream' being allowed to drink of the narcotic. Even the slayer, as well as his wife and daughter, drink natéma. The drinking has throughout a ceremonial character. A number of beautifully ornamented clay dishes are placed on the ground in two rows. The priest and two or three other old men fill them with natéma and give them to the persons who are going to drink. Before they give the dish to a man or woman they each time sing a long conjuration over it, summoning the natéma spirits. The person who receives the dish quickly empties its contents, which amount to nearly half a litre. Immediately thereafter he or she goes out and throws up the quantity drunk (for the natéma at first has the effect of an emetic). Then the person again enters the house, again empties a pininga of natéma, which is given him by an old man with the same ceremony as before, and immediately again throws it up. The same process is repeated at third time. Each person who drinks natéma at the Tsantsa-feast thus has to empty three dishes of the sacred drink.

The persons who drink natéma have not previously eaten or drunk anything, and afterwards also they have to fast strictly until they have slept and dreamed. The majority of those who have drunk the narcotic leave the house and go out to sleep in some shelters

1: Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727, 276 (1928-29)

of palm leaves made in the forest at a short distance from the house. Most of these are men, but at least one of them ought to be a woman, a female relative of the slayer. The slayer and his wife and daughter, who also have drunk natéma, do not leave the house, but have their dreams inside. The dreamers remain in the forest sleeping until the afternoon. Then they take a bath in the river and return to the house, where they tell the older Indians what kind of dreams and visions they have had. Now they are also allowed to break their fast. Their food consists only of a dish of boiled and mashed manioc and boiled ripe bananas. The dreamer has to receive the dish containing this food from the hand of the same old man who in the morning had given him or her the natéma.

The object of the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast is to [346] ascertain whether everything will turn out favourably for the slayer in the future, whether he will have a long life, attain material prosperity and be lucky in his undertakings. The slayer, as well as his nearest relatives who have drunk natéma, will see in the dream his house surrounded by large and flourishing plantations of manioc and bananas; they will see his domestic animals, his swine and his hens, numerous and and [sic] fat, etc. But at the same time the persons who have drunk the sacred drink will be benefited themselves, being purified from impure and disease-bringing matter, and gaining

1: Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 727, 276 (1928-29)

strength and ability for their respective work and occupations.

The drinking of the natéma in the morning is as usual followed by a general drinking-bout--in which, however, those persons who have drunk natéma do not take part--as well as by a general banquet, at which the flesh of the swine and chickens cooked during the night is eaten. With this banquet the official part of the morning's program is finished, and hosts and guests may pass the rest of the day until darkness as they like.

At about 6 o'clock in the evening the preparations for the night's dance commence, the host (i. e., the slayer) again going round in the house and inviting the guests to take part in it. All having properly dressed themselves, arranged their ornaments, and painted their faces, the Hantsĕmáta begins and is continued through the whole night exactly in the same way as on the previous night. Even the wrestling of the boys takes place for a while. The dance is continued until about half past 5 in the morning, being as usual finished off by a general bath in the river."

1: Karsten--347-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"Like all ceremonies at the victory-feast, the 'washing of the tsantsa' commences about 8 o'clock in the morning, or about two hours after the dance of the previous night has been finished. The priest (whuéa) has previously been engaged in preparing tobacco juice mixed with saliva, by carefully chewing the leaves and spitting out the juice into the small clay pot (nattipya), from which he will portion it out to the persons who play the principal parts in the ceremonies. A small clay pot filled with water has, by means of some strips of bast, been tied to one of the chonta pillars in the middle of the house. From this pot the priest now and then takes a little water in his mouth while chewing the tobacco leaves. The priest having in this way provided a sufficient quantity of tobacco juice in his nattipya, the preparations for the ceremony, 'the washing of the tsantsa', begin.

The principal persons of the feast, the slayer, his wife and daughter, the priest, and a medicine-man, assemble at a spot in the middle of the house. The women arrange themselves round them, forming a ring or semicircle, all having their rattles around their waists and being headed by the priestess (oháha). The latter on this occasion wears a feather ornament on her head, which normally is never worn by the women, and also a kind of black collar prepared from the twigs of a certain tree which the Jibaros call múpish. This collar, to which the Jibaros ascribe some magical power, is hung round the neck of the priestess by the priest before the ceremony commences.

1: Karsten--347-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727 (1928-29)

Outside the ring of the women, moreover, four warriors, armed with lance and shields, take their stand. The role which they have to play is presently to be described. The first thing to be done is to provide seats for the persons mentioned--the slayer, his wife and daughter, as well as the priest and the medicine-man--and this is done in a ceremonial [348] way. The wife of the slayer grasps her husband with one hand and the priest with the other hand from behind at the waist, and all three go and fetch the seat of the slayer, which has been placed near the wall a few steps from where the ceremony will take place. The slayer, both of whose hands are held by the priest, bends down, grasps the seat, passes his hand round its edges, lifts it up a little, immediately sets it down again, lifts it up a second time and, accompanied by the priest, who continues holding his hands, and by his wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist, carries it to the spot from which they started. Here the seat is ceremonially laid down on the earth, the slayer with the aid of the priest setting it down, again lifting it up and a second time setting it down. Now the seat has been firmly placed, and must not be touched by anybody until the slayer seats himself upon it. During these operations, both when the seat was taken up and when it was placed upon the spot where the ceremony is to take place, the women have been dancing around the slayer and his wife and the priest, incessantly repeating, in slow time and almost monotonously, the refrain: '*Chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba, chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba*... 'etc., i. e. 'Take up the seat, set down the seat, ... 'etc. Thereupon the slayer, his wife, and the priest go and fetch another seat upon which the priest will sit during the ceremony; and this is done in the same way as the first time, the women dancing and singing their 'Chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumbá'when the seat is being lifted up from the ground, and when it is placed on the spot where the priest will sit. The slayer's and the priest's seats are placed opposite each other. Three more seats are subsequently brought for the medicine-man and for the wife and daughter of the slayer.

The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the slayer's wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist as before, now go and fetch a shield which had previously been placed by the door and which will serve as a table at the ceremony. The shield is placed on the ground between the seats. Lastly the same persons go and take the tsantsa, which as usual has been kept tied to a lance stuck into the ground at the door. The tsantsa is carefully placed upon the shield. On the latter are also laid the small pot containing tobacco juice and a knife.

The slayer and the priest now prepare to sit down each taking his stand in front of the seat intended for him. The priest lays his hands upon the shoulders of the slayer and makes him sit down on the seat, immediately raise himself, and again definitively sit down. Thereafter the slayer repeats the same with the priest, laying his hands upon his shoulders,[349] making him sit down quickly, immediately raise himself, and

1: Karsten--347-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
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again sit down. Both men now remain sitting opposite each other. The three other persons also take their seats without ceremony, the slayer having the medicine-man sitting on his right hand and his wife and daughter on his left.

The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth, then to the medicine-man through the nose, and finally he himself also takes some. The medicine-man is now the principal person acting. Taking the tsantsa and the knife he takes some tobacco juice with the point of the latter and coats the tsantsa with it at the neck opening. He makes a cutting motion round the neck of the head with the knife as if he were cutting it off. Then he carefully loosens the cotton string attached to the three chonta pins, which have been stuck through the lips of the head (p. 296), and lastly removes the chonta pins themselves, one after the other, putting them down on the shield. Finally he gives tobacco juice to the slayer and hangs the trophy round his neck.

While the medicine-man has been engaged in these actions, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing round him and the other persons sitting around the shield, singing at every important moment of his operations, in the same slow, solemn time as before, certain refrains which are supposed to give them more emphasis. Since tobacco plays an extraordinary role at the feast, we can understand why this magical medicine is particularly mentioned. Among the refrains sung at the washing of the

1: Karsten--347-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
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tsantsa I have noted down the following as being the most important:

Chimbuyirumbá --yamáyumbá,
'Take up the seat! -- set down the seat!'
Shimbágasmé, 'May it not move' ('may it be steady!')
Styugáhosé, 'Put the tobacco cautiously on the floor!'
Wakeketá, 'Unfold the leaves!'
Umbunatá, 'Blow tobacco smoke!'
Urárata, 'Open the bundle'!
Chichutamá, 'Throw saliva upon it!'
Shimbanákachá, 'May it not get damaged.!
Yamámishá, 'Recently enveloped are the tobacco leaves'.
Mishákatei, 'Recently made is the head of the enemy which we are going to wash'!
Yamanhiri, 'Recently we have passed the threads through its mouth.' [350]
Misháhosé, 'Take up the tsantsa'!
Mishatákuná, 'Hold it up for the dance'!
oa-á --aó."

1: Karsten--350-356　　(1916-18) 1935　　Jivaro-1
116, 727　　(1928-29)

"Thus, when the medicine-man seizes the trophy, when he makes the cutting motion round its neck with his knife, when he removes the cotton string and the chonta pins, and lastly, when he hangs the trophy round the neck of the slayer, the women accompany all these actions by dancing, singing the refrains mentioned, and shaking their rattles. Again, the four warriors armed with lances and shields at the same time accompany the operations of the medicine-man in another way: at each of the critical moments just mentioned they hold the shield, extended in a horizontal position, with the left hand, and with their lances give it from below three or four powerful resounding strokes. This is the ceremony called Yáktinyu.

The removal of the aforesaid ornaments--the cotton string and the chonta pins--has been necessary for the washing of the tsantsa, a ceremony which will take place outside the house. The slayer has to march out to the place destined for it, performing together with the women the same dance, Ihiámbrama, which we know as one of the principal ceremonies from the first day of the feast. The women arrange themselves in a long column, the wife and daughter of the slayer as usual taking the foremost place. The slayer places himself at the head of them grasping his wife with his left hand and the tsantsa with his right, and holding his arm stretched out. On both sides of them the men range themselves in two rows. A sign having been given, the slayer, followed by the women, proceeds dancing to the door of the house, again returns to the interior, and again proceeds dancing to the door, where he stops. He goes out, with the aid of the priest hangs the trophy round his neck, and continues a few steps toward the place chosen for the washing ceremony.

The slayer now takes a seat, placed on the ground for his use (Pl. XXXI). On another seat his wife seats herself, and on a third his daughter. The priest and the medicine-man take their stand close to them. Round these persons the women form into a ring, grasping each other by the hands. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony Yáktinyu within the house also take up positions ready for fresh action. The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer and the two women, a procedure that is repeated three or four times during the following ceremonies, so that the said persons at last become narcotized, grow pale, and begin to tremble through their whole bodies. It is considered necessary that they [351] should be brought to such a state, since thus they are supposed to gain power of resisting the angry spirit during the important action which will now take place, namely, the washing of the tsantsa.

The medicine-man fixes a chonta stick in the ground in front of the slayer. The latter takes off the tsantsa from his neck and with the aid of the priest places it on the top of the stick. Close to the stick a clay pot, a round gourd containing water, and a piece of the root of a liana called sikimuro are placed on a banana leaf. The medicine man who will conduct the washing ceremonies receives the sikimuro root from the wife

1; Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
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of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom under her tarächi. When the root is cut in pieces and rubbed in water it produces a white soap-like foam. It is with this soap that the tsantsa will be washed.

The medicine-man cuts the sikimuro root into small pieces. Then the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, grasps him by the wrists, and makes him pour some water into the clay pot from the water-bottle. Thereupon the priest makes the slayer take up some pieces of the sikimuro root and put them into the pot. Now the trophy itself has to be laid down in this solution. The priest again grasps the slayer by the right hand and makes him take up a little water from the pot, with which he wets the tsantsa. The same operation is immediately repeated; but now the slayer also takes up a small sikimuro piece from the pot and touches the hair of the trophy with it. Finally the slayer cautiously puts the trophy itself down into the pot, his right hand then being held by the priest and his left hand by the medicine-man.

The trophy having been laid down in the sikimuro solution with these ceremonies, the washing itself is performed by the medicine-man (Pl. XXXII). He rubs the hair with the sikimuro pieces and washes it with the soap produced by them. Having carefully soaked the trophy in the solution, he takes it up from the pot, places it on the top of the chonta stick, and continues washing it. Thereupon he begins to make it dry, shaking off the

1: Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727 (1928-29)

water from it, beating his arms with the hair, and drying it with his clothes. Finally he combs the tsantsa, receiving a special comb from the daughter of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom in the same way as the wife of the slayer had kept the sikimuro root. The hair having been arranged and combed properly, the trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta stick, where it is left for a while so as to get perfectly dry. The medicine-man grasps the hand of the slayer and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa; then he likewise grasps the hands of his wife and daughter and makes them gently touch the trophy. [352]

While all these operations have been performed, the women, led by the priestess, have again formed a circle round the principal persons, accompanying each of the most important actions--when the tsantsa was first touched by the sikimuro solution, when it was laid in the pot, when it was washed and combed, etc.--by dancing, chanting, and shaking their rattles (Pl. XXXII, 2). The refrains, slowly and monotonously sung by the women, are similar to those before sung in the house.

The operations of the medicine-man have also been accompanied by the four warriors armed with shields and lances, who at the critical moments have been striking their shields performing the Yáktinyu.

The washing of the tsantsa having been accomplished, the sikimuro solution is disposed of in the following way. The medicine-man seizes the pot with both hands and pours out the majority of its contents, as well as the foam produced by the root, on the earth. The rest of the warriors start to strike the running water and foam furiously with their lances. The remainder of the solution, as well as the clay pot itself, is thrown away into the forest.

The men now make themselves ready to march back into the house. The slayer receives tobacco juice from the priest. Then with the aid of the latter, he takes the trophy hanging on the chonta stick and hangs it over his breast. Behind the slayer the other men, as usual, arrange themselves in a long row, all armed with their lances and guns. The priest takes his stand behind the slayer, holding his hand upon his shoulder. Some other older warriors also place themselves at the side or in front of the slayer, one of them holding the small pot containing tobacco juice, of which a dose is repeatedly given the slayer. The women have previously returned to the house and made themselves ready to receive the slayer.

The procession now starts to move forward, the slayer walking slowly and solemnly, followed by the other warriors, continually striking the hair of the trophy with his hands. An old warrior goes in front of him, holding the comb, with which the trophy had been combed after washing, before him. The comb, by having been in contact with the victim's hair, is charged with spiritual energy, and is therefore supposed to possess the power of keeping off the spirit of the slain enemy, which according to the belief of the Indians is coming to meet the slayer when he approaches the house, trying to kill him.

The slayer stops at the door of the house. The priest helps him to take off the trophy, ties it to a lance which he quickly passes in through [353] the door, again takes out, and passes in once more, whereupon he fixes the lance in the ground at the door inside. Within the house, meanwhile, the women have arranged themselves for the dance *Ihiámbrama,* which the slayer again has to perform with the women in the way described before.

After the dance the priest takes the slayer round inside the house to manifest that he can move about in it without danger.

The object of this ceremony, the 'washing of the *tsantsa,*' is to 'wash off' the malignity still retained by the spirit of the slain enemy, and definitely to make it the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. This effect is first of all supposed to be brought about by the *sikimuro* solution, owing to the magical properties ascribed to the *sikimuro* root itself.

Again, the object of the dancing and chanting of the women while the washing of the trophy takes place, as well as of the ceremony *Yáktinyu* performed by the four warriors, is partly to keep off the malicious spirit, who is being mortified and definitely enslaved through the washing ceremony and is more eagerly than ever trying to revenge himself, partly to give more emphasis to the ceremony itself. The refrains *chimbuyirumba--yamáyumbá*, etc., belong to an ancient ceremonial language, and their exact meaning is probably unknown to many of the Indians themselves. The different refrains refer to different details of the ceremonies going on within the ring of the dancing women--when the slayer puts the tsantsa on the top of the chonta stick, when he wets it with the magical solution, when he puts it into that solution, when the medicine-man washes it, when he dries it, etc.--and they are supposed to give more emphasis to the action taking place at the moment. That the efficacy of an action is enhanced when it is repeated in words is an idea deeply rooted in the minds of the Jibaros.

After the introductory dance Ihiámbrama has taken place, and while all are still standing in the rows in which they were arranged for this dance, manioc-beer (nihamánchi) has to be ceremonially drunk. This is not a manioc-beer of the common kind, but a special beer brewed of roasted manioc (p. 339), which is supposed to have a particular efficacy. In front of the men, arranged in two rows, five women take their stand, each holding a pininga filled with the manioc-beer. The first and the second of these women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. The slayer himself is the first to drink of the beer, stepping forth to the women and taking a sip from the pininga of each of them. Then he goes back to the other men, seizes the priest by the arm, leads him forward to the [354] women, and makes him in the same way drink a little from the dish of each woman, whereupon he follows him back to the place where he was previously standing. The same is repeated with every one of the other warriors, who have to step forward and drink by turns, according to age and dignity, the oldest warriors who have killed many enemies and celebrated many tsantsa-feasts going first and the younger men afterwards. Only the eldest men are led to the women by the slayer, the younger men stepping forth at a sign given by him, or without a sign, in the order in which they are arranged.

With the drinking of the nihamánchi the day's official ceremonies are finished. They are followed by the usual general drinking-bout and by a common banquet. The principal persons of the feast and other men or women who have taken part in important conjurations, however, have to fast as before, abstaining particularly from eating pork. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony Yáktinyu with their shields and lances are not allowed to drink the same quantity of manioc-beer as the other men. The drink is served them, not in the usual large piningas, but in the small clay dishes mentioned before. These dishes are placed on the ground in a row and filled with beer, and the four warriors take their stand in front of them, ranged in a row. A sign being given them, they suddenly run forth, all at the same time seizing their piningas and quickly emptying their contents. The men thus quickly and simultaneously drinking the beer, the revengeful spirit is believed to have more difficulty in doing harm to any of them.

The drinking-bout is continued nearly the whole day, until all, both men and women, get more or less drunk. In the same degree as the drink exerts its intoxicating effects, the Indians start to dance singly, and this dance goes on the whole forenoon. At first the priestess (oháha) dances alone with the tsantsa hanging on her back, chanting a song, which is in its nature an invitation to the younger men and women to start dancing. This song runs as follows:

Ohahaheitimi, 'Let us sing and dance!'

Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
sinseri natsamáma,
Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó. [355]
Tsingumimáma,
oháhaheita,
untuhára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Úntuhára
ivyéramáma,
wakimsihára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Shirimbi nóastaimi,
narángoá,
oháhaheita,
nayápiumau
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

1: Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
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In translation:

'Let us sing and dance!
May all of you come!
Arranged in a file may you come and dance! Arranged in a file may you come without feeling shame!
Well dressed,
having adjusted your tarachi,
having arranged your ornaments,
may you sing and dance!
Grasping one another by the hands
may you dance!
Like the swallow which, (sitting on a bough) is moving his body to and fro (as if he were dancing),
Like the hawk, which is making his circles in the air, may you sing and dance!'

In obedience to the exhortation of the priestess the younger Indians start to dance in couples, one man and one woman, the wife and daughter of the slayer being the most active among the women. The dancing couple wear the usual festival dress, the woman having her rattle of snail shells round the waist, and the man his drum, which he beats in time to the dance. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the

1; Karsten--350-356 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-11
116, 727 (1928-29)

woman alternately moving to and from each other in slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum, the woman simultaneously chanting a song (Pl. XXXIII). At the same time other men accompany the dance by beating drums or playing flutes. In this way one couple after the other makes its appearance in the course of the day. Besides the priestess, other women also appear dancing alone, accompanying themselves with a chant or song. These songs generally have no reference to the feast, but the women sing whatever occurs to them in their intoxicated state. Thus it is common that at the great feasts the [356] women address their songs to certain beautiful birds of the forest, which are then personified and spoken to. Among these birds the tucan (tsukánga), the cock-of-the-rock (súmga), the paugi (máshu), and the wild turkey (kúyu) play the principal roles, and the dancing women address them, giving them all sorts of pet names, praising their brilliant plumage, their walk, etc."

1: Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day the important action takes place which the Jibaros call Cuichi achiktahei matinyu, i.e. 'the slaughter of the swine'.

According to the ritual of the feast, the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine takes place during the night preceding the last day of the feast, or more strictly speaking shortly after midnight, 'when the cocks crow for the first time,' and the new day is supposed to begin. This hour is generally about 1 o'clock in the morning. Since it is, however, difficult both to slaughter a number of swine and to cook their flesh within a short time, the matter is mostly practically arranged so that the slaughtering of the animals takes place on the afternoon of the day before, whereas the cooking of the flesh is done at midnight. That the flesh should be cooked at midnight is considered absolutely necessary, for only in this case will the purpose of the whole slaughtering ceremony, the plentiful increase of the swine for the future, be attained. When the flesh of the animals killed is cooked early in the morning, at the first beginning of the new day, this will have as its consequence that henceforward there will be plenty of swine's flesh in the house of the slayer. The same holds good of the hens, which are likewise slaughtered and cooked during the first hours of the new day; but they naturally are of less importance than the swine.

As has been mentioned before, the swine to be slaughtered at a feast have been procured long before, when the first preparations for the feast began; and they are bred and fed with special care. The victor himself has supervised the rearing of these animals,

1: Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

giving the proper women instructions which he himself has received directly from the wakáni, the spirit of the killed enemy materialized in the tsantsa, over whom he has acquired complete domination. The number of the swine to be slaughtered at a feast is not exactly fixed in the beginning. Generally a few [358] more are procured and bred than are supposed to be needed for the purpose. Moreover, for the propagation of the race it is necessary that at least a couple should be left alive. When the time for the great feast is approaching, the victor himself decides which of the swine are to be slaughtered and in what order it is to be done. Even respecting these details he receives advice directly from the wakáni, when, with the tsantsa hanging round his neck, he goes out into the swine yard and 'points out' the animals (kuchi anéikama). These swine having been slaughtered in due order and their flesh consumed at the feast, the few remaining ones will increase in number all the more. This is the main idea which the Jibaros connect with the ceremonial slaughter of domestic animals at their feasts.

For a feast at which I was present 11 or 12 swine had been bred, of which 9 were slaughtered, 2 during the first day of the feast and 7 on the day of the ceremonial slaughter proper.

According to the ritual, the slaughtering should be done by some of the invited guests specially selected for this purpose. The host or his household must not touch them on any account, for then the object of the whole ceremony would be missed, inasmuch as the remaining swine would not increase. The slaughter takes place outside the house, but the animals are not all killed on the same spot but one here and another there, close to the different walls of the house. In this way the impression is produced that the swine killed and eaten at the feast are very numerous, and the effect of this will be that they will really be numerous in future.

The animals, according to an old Jibaro custom, are killed by strangulation, without the shedding of blood. A rope twisted of lianas is tied round the neck of the swine, and a strong stick is stuck under it, the strangulation being brought by about twisting it. As the animals are thus killed they are carried into the house, where some pots with hot water stand ready. The skin is scalded with the hot water, and the hair is scraped off, whereupon the stomach is opened and the flesh cut in the ordinary way.

Of the flesh the priest and priestess receive each one leg as a part of the payment for their services at the feast. The rest of it, with the exception of the heads and the bones, is kept on special shelves until midnight, when it is cooked. The head and the bones, again, are roasted and kept until the day of the departure of the guests, being then divided among them.

When darkness sets in the dance Hantsēmáta, as usual, commences [359] and is continued, with two intervals, until dawn. The first of these intervals occurs at about

1; Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

10 o'clock in the evening, when the distilled manioc-wine is made definitely ready. The clay pot containing the roasted and masticated manioc substance which, during the first day of the feast, had been arranged for the distillation of the drink is moved forward and placed on the ground. The priest, proceeding with the utmost care, removes the kachini and apai leaves with which the masticated substance had been covered. Then he removes the manioc substance itself with the same care, laying it in another vessel. Finally, in the same way, he removes the apai leaves which had been laid on the shuya sticks collected in the pot, as well as the shuya sticks themselves, which together with the leaves are laid on a special large leaf. The dark-brown essence which has remained in the bottom of the pot is the manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki). The priest asks for another smaller clay pot and for a gourd, which are given him by the women. Then he pours the whole quantity of wine into the new clay vessel, and also a little into the gourd. The gourd is then placed over the mouth of the clay pot so that is [sic] covers it, and the gourd is covered with leaves. The whole thing is thereafter kept in a special place until the following morning, when the drink will be consumed.

This work being finished, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued until about 1 o'clock in the morning, when the cocks are heard crowing, and the host declares it to be the right time to cook the flesh of the swine slaughtered. Various fires have previously been

1: Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

kindled in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed upon them, and the flesh is divided up among the pots. At the same time a number of hens are killed by wringing their necks; these are plucked and prepared on the spot, their flesh being cooked in special pots. While the cooking goes on the Indians dance the Hantsemáta with more vigour than usual, all men and women taking part in it. After the flesh is boiled the pots are removed from the fires, put aside, and kept until morning. It is not until then that the flesh cooked can be eaten, namely, at the common banquet following the last ceremony of the feast, the dressing of the victor.

The dance, as usual, is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the customary bath in the river."

1: Karsten--360-364
116, 727

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"The last day of the feast: Nambera shiákma,
'the feast is concluded'.

About 8 o'clock in the morning the last great ceremony is performed with the slayer, in which the priest dresses him in a festive dress, makes him break his fast, and lastly cuts his hair and paints his body black with genipa.

The beginning of the ceremony, the carrying of the seats, the bringing of the tsantsa placed on a shield, etc., is exactly the same as on the previous day when the trophy was to be washed. The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the former's wife, have especially to fetch each seat upon which these persons will sit during the ceremony, a special seat being likewise brought for the medicine-man. The priest helps the slayer to seat himself, and the slayer in his turn helps the priest. Between the seats the shield with the tsantsa has been placed. Upon the shield, besides, all those articles of clothing and ornaments are laid with which the slayer himself as well as his wife and daughter will be dressed. These articles, as far as the slayer is concerned, are the following: A new loin-cloth (itipi) with a girdle of human hair (akáchu); a broad band, the ends of which are adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, called itsimgama, to tie round the great pigtail at the neck; and two red-painted cotton strings with which the small braids at the temples are tied; a comb, timashi; ear-sticks, arúsa; pendants of brilliant beetle wings to attach to the ear-lobes, called wauo, a crown of toucan feathers for the head, tawasa; an adornment for the back, made of the leg bones of the bird tayu, called tayukunchi. Of ornaments worn by the women the following are laid on the shield: a cotton string which the women tie around their hair for the feasts, tiringsa; the small ear-sticks of the women, arusa; the wooden pin which the women carry in the nether lip, tukúnu; a collar of beads worn round the neck, sháuka; and some broad cotton bands tied round the upper arm, patáki. [361]

Upon the shield, moreover, are placed the small pot containing tobacco juice, a small gourd containing red ochre (ipyáku), three twisted cotton strings, painted red with ochre, which are to be attached to the lips of the tsantsa, and a knife.

After all have seated themselves the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, to his wife and daughter, as well as to the medicine-man, and lastly partakes of it himself. The medicine-man takes the knife with the right hand and the tsantsa with the left and takes some tobacco juice with the point of the knife and coats the tsantsa with it at the neck opening. After this he cuts off a strip of the skin from the trophy, removing nearly the whole part which formed the neck. This strip is laid down on the shield. Into the holes in the lips, where the three chonta pins had been stuck before, he inserts the three cotton strings, which are thus attached to the lips. While the medicine-man is engaged in these operations the women dance round him and the other persons sit at

1: Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 727 (1928-29)

the shield chanting their usual incantations: chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumbá, etc. Likewise the four warriors at the critical moments strike their shields with the lances, performing the ceremony Yaktinyu.

The trophy is now ready. The priest thereafter begins his part, his first task being to dress the slayer. The priest, as usual, gives him tobacco juice through the nose and helps him to hang the tsantsa upon himself. Formerly it was customary among the Jibaros for the victor, before he took on the trophy, to swallow a small piece of the skin which the medicine-man had cut off from the neck of the trophy, 'in order to manifest that he was eating his enemy'. This custom is now seldom followed, and the piece of skin is generally simply thrown away. The priest thereupon grasps the victor by the wrist, makes him take the loin-cloth and the girdle, blows upon these pieces of clothing, and helps him to dress himself with them. The victor's hair is arranged. The priest helps him to comb it and to divide it into three pigtails--one large one behind and two smaller ones at the temples--as are customary among the Jibaros. The pigtails are tied round with the bands laid on the shield for this purpose. Then he in the same way receives the rest of the ornaments, the feather crown, the ear-sticks, etc., from the hands of the priest, who blows upon each article before he gives it to the victor. Likewise the victor paints his face red with ochre, with the assistance of the old man.

Even the wife of the victor is ceremonially dressed by the priest, receiving from his hands the female ornaments placed on the shield. [362]

1: Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 727 (1928-29)

During the whole of this dressing ceremony the women, conducted by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons acting.

The next thing that the victor as well as his wife and daughter have to do is to break the fast. In the women's quarters different kinds of food have previously been prepared. At a special fire leaves of the Ilex (weisa) have been cooked in a small pot. As soon as the drink is ready the priest pours a little of it into a gourd, mutters a conjuration over it and hands it to the victor, who washes his mouth with the solution, spitting it out thereafter. The priest makes the wife and daughter wash their mouths with weisa in the same way. All three are now properly purified to receive food.

Different kinds of food are brought on large banana leaves; on one leaf there is some swine's meat, fish, and manioc, as well as a little salt and himya or Indian pepper. On another banana leaf an entire boiled liver of one of the swine slaughtered has been placed. The priest gives tobacco juice to the victor through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth. Then he takes cautiously, with two fingers, a small piece of swines' flesh, mutters a conjuration over it, spits upon the ground, and gives the piece to the victor, who swallows it without touching it with his fingers. The latter subsequently receives from the hand of the old man a small piece of fish, a little manioc, as well as a pinch of salt and pepper. Thereupon the priest, with the same ceremonies, gives a little of the said dishes to the wife and daughter of the victor.

In return, the victor gives to the priest the swine's liver placed upon the other banana leaf 'as a tribute of gratitude for what the priest has done for him at the feast.' He handles the liver as carefully as possible, touching it merely with the tips of his fingers, and gives it to the priest, who bites off a mouthful of it. The rest of the liver is kept by the priest, who takes it to his home.

While these ceremonies have been going on, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons in the way described before.

The victor having been dressed and having broken his fast, the drinking of the manioc-wine, prepared with so much care, takes place. This ceremony is performed in the same way as the drinking of the manioc-beer after the washing of the trophy on the previous day. The men range in two rows from the door inward, standing according to age and dignity, the oldest ones nearest to the door. The wife of the [363] victor takes her stand in front of them in the middle of the house, holding the pot containing the wine in one hand and a small gourd in the other. The victor first steps forth to the woman and takes a draught from the gourd which she hands him. Then he goes back and fetches the priest and makes him drink in the same way from the gourd which the woman has meanwhile filled with wine. The same is repeated with each of the older warriors, who step forth by turns. After them the younger ones follow. However,

1: Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 727 (1928-29)

according to the ceremonial only the older warriors, who themselves have killed some enemies and celebrated a victory-feast, are allowed really to drink of the wine. The younger men certainly step forth to the woman, but only make a show of drinking from the gourd she holds forth and in reality do not touch it with their lips. They are not yet considered as real warriors, because they have not killed an enemy. Similarly, no one of the women drinks of the liquor. What is left of the manioc-wine is kept by the priest to be consumed after the meal now beginning.

After the drinking ceremony just described the general banquet takes place at which the flesh of the swine and hens slaughtered during the night is consumed. This banquet has the same character as the meal taking place every morning after the principal ceremony of the day. However, it is considered essential that both the guests and the hosts should eat much, so that the whole supply of meat that exists is consumed. The best pieces of the swine and the hens are selected for the victor. The meal is considered ominous for the future. Just as the victor now eats much flesh of swine and hens, so there will not in the future--thanks to the mysterious favourable influence of the tsantsa--be any lack of such food in his house.

After the banquet the priest distributes the remainder of the manioc-wine among all the men, even the younger ones being now allowed to drink until the whole supply is exhausted.

1: Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 727 (1928-29)

The final ceremony still remains to be performed with the victor, in which his hair is cut and his body painted black with genipa. The priest therein acts as before. Of the great pigtail which the victor wears behind he cuts off only the ends, but the smaller braids at the temples are completely removed. The hair cut off is laid on the shield and is kept by the victor. The hair cut on ceremonial occasions is used by the Jibaros for the preparation of the girdles of human hair which are worn by the men.

Thereupon follows the painting with genipa (sua). A small pot con-[364] taining the genipa solution is placed on the shield. The priest dips his fingers in the solution and coats the victor's whole face with it, drawing broad strokes along his breast and stomach, his back, arms, and legs. At this ceremony also the choir of the women, conducted by the priestess, assists.

Having finished these operations the priest addresses the men standing round him in much the following words: 'I have completed my task as a whuéa at this feast. What I have done now you may also do later when you grow old.'

The rest of the day is passed in the same way as during the previous days of the feast, drinking-bouts being held and solo dances being performed, in which the men and the women, as usual, make their appearance by pairs. Now just as before, the women generally accompany their dance with a sort of incantation.

When darkness sets in the last general night dance commences, which is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the usual bath in the river.

1; Karsten--360-364 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727 (1928-29)

Early in the morning a small drinking-bout is held, whereupon the guests make themselves ready to depart and start to take leave of the hosts. The leave-taking has the same ceremonial character as the salutation at the arrival, each of the male guests addressing the victor and his relatives in a sort of speech. The words uttered, of course, have reference to the feast just finished; the splendid arrangements, the entertainment, the harmony prevailing, etc., are eulogized, and the guest in his turn invites the hosts to a visit. After this farewell ceremony, which lasts a long time, the men march off, accompanied by their wives and daughters.

After the great victory feast the Jibaro warrior generally undertakes a small journey, lasting a few days, just as he did after the previous smaller feasts. On this occasion he retires to the forest, where he stays alone, taking tobacco water, bathing every day in the waterfall, and sleeping at night in a small 'dreaming hut'. As soon as the black body painting had disappeared he returns home, where he finally drinks of the narcotic maikoa in order to see whether there are still enemies threatening him and whether everything will turn out happily for him in the future."

2: Stirling--S1 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 866

"The first time a boy or young man kills an enemy in actual combat he is ordered by the others to cut off the head of his victim. During this process some experienced warrior stays by his side to instruct him in the proper technique. This adviser also stays by him later to instruct him in the preparation of the tsantsa. After this has been done and the boy has gone through the subsequent ceremony on the return of the successful raiding party he is considered a full-fledged warrior and now enough confidence is placed in him that he may be sent out to act as a spy."

2: Stirling--55-56 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 602

"When a man has killed an opponent he takes his head as soon as circumstances permit. It is customary with the Jivaros that a man, when struck, even though not severely wounded, will fall to the ground. Thus it frequently happens that the severing of the head is begun while the man is still alive. The removal of the head is usually accomplished with the lance blade. The skin is cut low on the chest in a V-shape just above the nipples and is peeled up until the lower part of the neck is exposed. The neck is severed, cutting through to the bone, and the head is separated from the body by cutting between two of the neck vertebrae.[56]

If the women of the defending party are able to conceal the body of a man who has been killed they do so quickly in order that his head may not be taken. When the battle is fairly equal they are sometimes able to do this.

During the fight a man is always exceedingly careful not to kill any of his blood relatives, who are likely to be present among the two combating forces if they live in the same region. The heads of women killed are taken, but not those of small children, their bodies merely being thrown aside.

As soon as the fight is over, assuming that the attacking party has been victorious, the curaka calls his men together for a discussion to decide which of the victims are relatives of the attacking party. Any member who has had a relative killed points him out. These are set aside, as tsantsas are not made from their heads out of courtesy to their relatives in the attacking force. During the heat of the fight, if someone notices that a relative of his has been killed, he shouts to the victor: 'Do not take his head! That is a relative of mine!' However, any man who has killed an opponent and has not been able to take his head for this reason is entitled to make a tsantsa of a sloth's head, as will be described later. Captured women are divided among the successful warriors, the curaka taking his choice first.

All this having been decided upon, the victorious party mill around, shouting, and wrecking everything inside the house. They break the earthenware, kill the dogs, and rush about sticking their lances in the ground where they think the dead have been buried. (71) Any loot of value is taken. They then burn the house and uproot the plants in the garden. Meanwhile those who have taken heads string them on bark strips, wrap them in leaves or place them in a basket to be carried on their backs. The party is then ready to return home."

"71. The custom of burying the dead in the houses has resulted from missionary influence in some regions."

2: Stirling--56-59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"They march back bearing the heads with them until at a distance where they are presumbably safe from pursuit. Here a camp and a temporary shelter is erected, usually on a sand bar in the river, and the preparation of the tsantsas is begun. This process requires approximately 20 hours; 12 hours for the preparation of the heads and 8 hours for smoking them. As soon as the camp has been made the heads are taken from the baskets and the leaf wrappings are removed.

A slit is made vertically in the back of the neck and each head is skinned as a skin is removed entire from a rabbit. Then any meat [57] adhering to the inside is scraped off and a fine piece of Chambira (72) fiber is used to fasten the eyelids shut. The skin is then reversed so that it is in its original position, the head forming a sack with the neck as the opening. Three pins of chonta wood are thrust through the lips so as to hold the mouth closed evenly and string is wrapped over them on the outside so as to insure the lips remaining in position during the succeeding operations.

A large earthenware pot is then half filled with water. In this is placed the juice from a parasitic vine called chinchipi. This mixture is brought to the point of boiling and the head placed in it for two hours. The astringent qualities of the chinchipi, according to the Jivaros, prevent the hair from falling out. At the end of this time the head, reduced to about one-third of its original size, is fished from the pot. It is well cooked, the skin very thick and of a rubbery consistency and pale yellow in color. As a rule, nothing is done to the eyes, although sometimes a large red-and-black seed is placed under each lid

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72. *Astrocaryum tucuina*.

to bulge them out slightly. At this time, when the head has cooled sufficiently to handle, the slit up the back of the neck is neatly sewed up.

While the head is cooking the operator collects from the beach a series of rounded stones, scaled in size so as to fit the neck orifice during the further shrinking process. These stones are placed in the fire so as to be thoroughly heated when the head is taken from the pot. The operator then holds the head in the palm of one hand with the neck up and, picking up the largest of the heated stones with the aid of a pair of sticks, he drops it into the cavity inside the head. He then begins rotating the head rapidly in his hand so that the stone rolls around continuously inside the cavity. The hot rock give off a sizzling sound as it contacts the wet skin and a smell like that of burnt leather.

While this is going on the operator picks up another small stone with his free hand and with it smooths out the features, keeping them as nearly as possible in a natural position. As soon as the rock inside has cooled somewhat it is removed and another freshly heated one substituted, smaller rocks being used as the head continues to shrink and harden from the drying-out process. During the procedure the external smoothing of the features is continued. This goes on for 2 or 3 hours, when the head has become reduced to a minimum. From time to time hair is plucked from the head and eyebrows and eyelashes so as to keep the hair in proportion to the other features.

As a final process, hot sand is used in place of the heated stones, the head being about half filled at each application; this penetrates [58] into crevices and completes the desiccation of any niches within the head. About evening the shrinking process is completed. The reduction of the features makes the fine facial hairs or down very prominent. At this stage the operator singes off most of this fuzz with an improvised torch, being careful not to damage the eyebrows and eyelashes.

Frequently the base of the neck is sewed around with fiber. This being done, the crown of the head is perforated and a loop of string is passed through and attached to a small transverse piece of chonta wood on the inside. By this the head is hung from a rack about 3 feet above the fire. Here it remains all night over a smudge, being heated and smoked.

The men do not go to sleep but lie before the fire with their feet over a rack as they sleep on their beds at home, warming their feet over the fire at the same time that the heads are being dried. The smoke changes the color of the heads from yellow to black, and the final drying process makes them very hard.

As a last procedure, the heads are polished with a piece of cloth, much as one would shine a shoe.

At dawn a young man is sent to the village to report the victory and the number of tsantsas which have been prepared, whereupon the women in the jivaría prepare to receive them. For each head that has been taken a fowl is killed and a bowl prepared. The heads of the fowls are cut off and the blood is drained into each bowl. In the same

2: Stirling--56-59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-4
116, 727

way a bowl filled with sua is prepared, one for each head.

While these preparations are being made the victorious party bearing the tsantsas are on their way home. As they approach the house each victor suspends his tsantsa around his neck. When they arrive they enter the house and each man having a tsantsa sticks his lance into the ground, butt down, the tsantsa being placed on the point of the lance. The women, wives or female relatives of the victors, then come up bearing the bowls of blood and sua and, while the men are standing in this position, the right leg of each is painted in spots with the blood from one bowl, while the left leg is similarly spotted black from the sua of the other bowl.

Following this, the men go to their various beds, the women following them with the two bowls. Here each man sits down and smears blood on his chest and arms, saying that this blood is the blood of his victims. When this has been done, all of the party drink nijimanche and partake of food.

Then begins a celebration of a very warlike nature, during which they dance around the tsantsas, brandishing lances and dramatizing the killing of the victims. During the dance the captured women stand by weeping. This is apparently such an important part of [59] the ceremony that, if no women have been captured, proxies are appointed from their own women to weep for each tsantsa. The dance continues all day, terminating at dark with much singing and drinking of fermented nijimanche. As soon as the dance is finished

2: Stirling--56-59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-5
116, 727

each tsantsa is wrapped in cloth, placed in an old earthenware jar, and either put over the man's bed or buried in the floor of the house.

Each man who has taken a head now goes on a strict diet, which lasts for a period of about 6 months. During this time he must remain continent and is not permitted to eat any of the fierce varieties of animals, birds, or fish. During this period the victors never go out hunting alone."

8: Stirling--61-62 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"There is considerable archeological evidence that the preparation of shrunken heads was practiced in pre-Columbian times over a rather wide area in Peru. Representations of reduced trophy heads occur commonly in both ceramic and textile art and less frequently in carvings on stone and shell. Max Uhle in 1908 noted pottery vessels from Ica and Nasca decorated with paintings of head trophies, 'showing the custom of closing the mouth by means of sewing in the manner now used on the reduced heads produced by the [62] Jivaros.' (73) At Tiahuanaco there are carved stone figures of warriors carrying trophy heads. (74) Castelnau figures two effigy jars, one from La Paz and the other from Cusco, decorated in the art style of Tiahuanaco (pl. 34 c). Both of these have likenesses of reduced heads. Tello figures one in which a warrior is shown holding two shrunken heads by the hair. (75)

Tello states that figures of shrunken heads are common in the art of Chimu and reproduces from Baessler (76) two representations of a jaguar divinity shown in each instance carrying a shrunken human head by the hair. These were taken from Chimbote. He further makes the statement that this same divinity represented carrying the shrunken human head trophy occurs in the black ware of northern Peru."

"73. Uhle, p. 263.
74. Tello, 1918, p. 23.
75. Tello, 1918, p. 24.
76. Baessler, pl. 60, fig. 240, and pl. 71, fig. 261."

2: Stirling- 62-63 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 171, 727

"It is in the region of Nasca, however, where evidence of head trophies is most abundant. Tello illustrates numerous examples from various localities, some on textiles and others on pottery (77) (fig. 1).

As final evidence of the former use of head trophies in this region, Tello figures a number of actual examples recovered from graves. While these head trophies were not of the shrunken variety, there is much about them reminiscent of the present-day Jivaro tsantsa (pl. 34, d). The frontal bone was perforated with a circular hole and the head suspended by means of a cord which passed through this hole and on through the foramen magnum, where it was kept in place by being fastened to a transverse wooden peg. This method of suspension recalls the technique employed by the Jivaro, but the most striking comparison is to be found in the preparation of the lips, which were pulled forward and skewered together by means of wooden pegs in precisely the manner employed by the Jivaro. Tello states that these heads are from graves representing a late period and in several instances they are post-Columbian. It would appear that these trophy heads were either prepared by people who had formerly practiced the shrinking of heads or who had been in contact with such people. In preparing reduced heads it is necessary to skewer or sew the lips, whereas this would not be essential when the heads were mummified without removing the skull. Since there are so many representations in earlier Nasca

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"77. Tello, 1918, pp. 34-53."

2: Stirling--62-63 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 171, 727

art showing what seem to be true reduced heads, it seems likely that the head trophy, prepared without removing the skull, in this region at least, developed out of the more highly specialized technique of shrinking heads. [63]

When Lubbock presented his article on Jivaro shrunken heads before the British Anthropological Institute in 1874 Franks called to his attention a specimen in the National Collection of London, which had been presented by the Prince Consort of 1853. This example is described as being about 1 inch in height, attached to a stick and dressed like a doll. It was said to have been discovered in a tomb in Pisco, Peru. (78)"

"78. Lubbock, 1874, pp. 29-32."

2: Stirling--63-64 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 171, 727

"There are several references in contemporary writings of the sixteenth century indicating that it was a common practice among the Incas to take the heads of enemies killed in warfare and to return with them as trophies. Cobo reports that the Inca, Tupac [64] Yupanqui, having learned of a revolt led by the chiefs of Collao, sent an army which successfully put down the rebellion. Cobo says:

> He flayed two of the most important chiefs and he ordered two drums made of their skins, with which and with the heads of those killed placed on lances and many prisoners to sacrifice to the sun, he returned triumphantly to his court where he celebrated these victories with many sacrifices and festivities. (79)

Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti says that---

> Inca Yupanqui in the war that his father Huiracacho had with the Chancas, fought with great ferocity, destroying the Ancohallos and Chancas and breaking through victorious up to Quiyachili, where he cut off the heads of the enemy generals Tomay Huaraca, Asto Huaraca, and Huasco Tomay Rima. ***(80)

"79. Cobo, pp. 168-169, cited in Tello, 1918, pp. 20-21.
80. Pachacuti, pp. 271-272, cited in Tello, 1918, p. 21."

Pachacuti states further that Yupanqui on returning to his city sent to his father presents consisting of heads of the Chancas and Hancoaillos.

Referring to Huayna Capac, Pachacuti says that after conquering those who were fortified at Sacsahuan---

> he enters the fort and takes out all the Carambis and Pastos and those who took part in the war, and the severed heads of the defeated which had been prepared for this purpose, he anoints with the blood of llamas and puts them on the spears. They display them, gloating over them as far as Curicancha. * * *.

The heads mentioned above were very probably of the type described by Tello from Nasca in which the skulls were not removed. There are, however, other references which indicate that shrunken heads prepared in precisely the manner now practiced by the Jivaros were still being made in various places in northwestern South America at the time of the Conquest."

2: Stirling--64-65 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 171, 727

"Estete, who went to Peru with Pizarro on his third voyage in 1527, describes the practice as it was then followed on the Ecuadorian coast.

> The heads of the dead they preserve with certain balsams in this manner: After removing the skull through the neck, the face, retaining its true form of nose, eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and hair, they cure and give it a certain confection by means of which they preserve the flesh or skin so that it does not rot, and the gristle of the nose is entire and the hair and eyebrows and eyelashes (remain) attacked to the flesh. So many are the baths that they give it, so as to cure and preserve it, that they make the face of a man to be wasted and shrunken and become quite small, much more so even than that of a newborn child. After having reduced it to a small size, they guard it in some small chests that they have in the temple, and it lasts so many years without rotting that the Indians say it lasts for two or three ages. Certainly it is a thing to admire, and one never seen before. And so it seemed to us when we[65] first saw it, holding it to be certain that they were faces of a race of dwarfs that had lived in the country, until we learned the truth of the matter. (81)

Zárate, who went to Peru in 1543, wrote in 1555 concerning the natives of Pasao (82)

"81. Estete, p. 317.

82. Cape Pasado is on the coast of the provinces of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráquez."

2: Stirling- 64-65 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 171, 727

near the Equator:

> In some temples, especially in the towns that they call of Pasao, on all the posts of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so well cured that they did not smell badly and fastened to the posts many heads of Indians that had been shrunken with a certain decoction until only the size of a fist. (83)

Figueroa, writing of the Itucalis of the Mainas provinces in 1665, states that when they have taken a head they insert a palm husk in an incision on the bridge of the nose, which forms an excrescence when it heals and thus indicates the number of heads each individual has to his credit. (84) Regarding the preparation of the heads he says:

> The first process they perform on the heads they bring with them, is to boil them, and having stripped the skin from the head and visage, it is stuffed with straw and dried in the smoke, thus forming a mask. (85)"

"83. Zarate, 1555, p. 465.

84. Juan de Salinas evidently refers to this mutilation of the nose, when in 1557 he encountered the Mainas and states that they were made striking by a 'device of the nose, not seen before.'

85. Skinner, 1805, p. 289."

2: Stirling--65-66 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 171, 727

"More details from Figueroa are given in the chapter on warfare. It is interesting to note that boiling, the most essential process in connection with head shrinking, is here mentioned for the first time, and as far as the writer is aware, is not mentioned again in any account until the present century.

In 1692 Father Lucero was with General Vaca when they captured 21 Jivaros who were surprised 'while they were celebrating with loud shouting, a solemn drunken feast because of having killed two famous wizards whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering.' (86)

Saffray, while traveling among the Cuans and Caimanes Indians on the Atrato River in northwestern Colombia in 1868, received from an old Indian by the name of Comagré the following information:

> When a chief dies his body is placed above a slow fire on a frame, until completely desiccated, then it is wrapped in cotton cloth decorated with gold, pearls, and jewels, and it is religiously cared for in a separate room. Of the common people, they preserve only the head. Comagré showed me one of these mummified heads. The bones had been taken out, and it had been dried in such a manner

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"86. Chantre y Herrera, p. 305."

> that the skin, having been contracted in a uniform manner, [66] remained a perfect reproduction of the original, reduced to almost one-sixth of its original size, without wrinkles and without deformation of the features.

Saffray reproduces a crude drawing of this head which seems to be identical with the Jivaro tsantsa as it even has the string tassels depending from the lips. It seems possible to the present writer that this specimen may have been imported from the Jivaros, but if the information is correct as quoted above it is of unusual interest. (87)

Some other tribes employ methods of preserving the bodies of their enemies that suggest the technique of the Jivaros. Mendoza, speaking of the Popayan of southern Colombia, says:

> The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, are filled with coarse ashes and they have attached them to the walls of their houses like people. (88)

Lorente, referring to the pre-Columbian Huancas of the Jauja Valley, Peru, says that these natives skinned their prisoners and with these skins, which they filled with ashes, made victory trophies which they exhibited in their temples. (89)

"87. Saffray, 1873, p. 103.
88. Colección Documentos Inéditos, vol. V, 1866, p. 489.
89. Lorente, 1860, p. 82."

At the time of the Conquest similar practices were followed as far north as the Panuco River in Mexico. In the Huastec country the Conquistadores on visiting a native temple found that the heads of their captured companions had been skinned and tanned and then placed on the walls of the structure. It was a common practice in Mexico to skin the heads of sacrificial victims and exhibit them on poles. These heads were described by the Spaniards as being dried, wrinkled, and shrunk to the size of the heads of small children. (90)

The stone monuments at Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa in Guatemala display numerous carvings depicting warriors holding human trophy heads which apparently have been reduced. There are many indications that Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa was subjected to Nahuatl influence. Fowler (91) describes the practice of head shrinking reputed to be carried on by Indians in the interior of British Honduras. The account, however, emanated from Father Pozzi, who had previously spent a number of years in the Jivaro country, and it is obvious that his descriptions apply to the Jivaros of Ecuador and not to any Honduran tribe."

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90. Thompson, 1933, pp. 124-125.
91. Fowler, 1879, p. 16."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Several of the sixteenth century travelers in the Jivaro country refer to the practice of these Indians of taking heads and dancing with them, but the first to attempt a description of the actual process of their preparation was Prieto, writing in 1815. Prieto, who made an expedition in search of the ruins of the ancient city of Logroño, [67] became well acquainted with the Jivaro Indians. Concerning the preparation of shrunken heads, he says:

> * * * they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them, which was done in this manner: When they have killed the infidel, they cut off his head from his shoulders and take out the interior, leaving only the neck, the hair, nostrils and ears; then they introduce hot stones, and thus keep it 20, 30 or more years in some earthenware jars, from which annually they take out many heads in order to dance with them and celebrate for 15 days the anniversary of their victories, preparing beforehand with many foods and beverages. (92)

Among the writers of the early part of the last half of the nineteenth century, the first to give a brief description of Jivaro tsantsas was Villavicencio. Writing in 1858, he says:

"92. Prieto, in Compte, 1885, p. 65."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

In their wars these Jivaros are accustomed to cut off the heads of their enemies and to carry them home with them in order to have a celebration with the skin of the face and scalp which they remove intact and dry by moulding it with hot stones; they strip the long hair from their enemies in order to make braids and tie them to their naked waist, for the purpose of showing their courage and to terrify the enemy. (93)"

"93. Villavicencio, 1858, p. 361."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Europeans first became acquainted with Jivaro shrunken heads in 1862 when Maiz presented before the Anthropological Society of Paris an example which had been sent to him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. The specimen was said to have been found in an old tomb located in the territory between the Chinchipe and Pastaza Rivers. The repost of this meeting of the society is interesting as it gives a very good idea of the type of speculation concerning tsantsas which has characterized discussion on the subject even among scientific bodies. In describing the example, Maiz said:

> Simple inspection of this head makes it clear that these Indians were very skillful in the art of taxidermy. They have removed in a single piece all of the skin of the face and of the cranium and of the upper part of the neck; then they have desiccated it with so much skill that it shrank uniformly so that the head became in volume the size of that of a newborn child, still preserving perfectly all of the contours and even small features of the face.(94)

After expressing the opinion that Peruvian mummies were often preserved naturally by burying them in the dry sands of Peru, he quotes Dr. Lorente's opinion that the Indians 'make in the hot sands of their countries some pits where the corpses are buried for some time in order to be exhumed later.'

"94. Moreno-Maiz, 1862, pp. 185-188."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

He then misquotes Villavicencio as saying that---

The skin is dissected and separated from the bone and put on molds of earth, where it is baked and dried at a high temperature."

2: Stirling--68 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175, 727

"At the conclusion of Dr. Maiz's presentation different members gave opinions on the procedure of preservation. M. de Quatrefages thought that some pieces of skin had been removed and that thus was explained the small size of the head. M. Broca remarked that this explanation could not hold because the slightest trace of an incision would be visible on the surface of the skin. M. Trelat believed that an exterior mold must have been employed, desiccation in the free air or by artificial heat never permitting such perfect preservation of form. M. Gratiolet said that chemical action had been necessary, without which the dermestes would have invaded and destroyed the skin at the end of a short time.

The following year, 1863, Bollaert described a tsantsa which had been secured by José Felix Barriero and sent to Bollaert in 1860. Barriero sent a letter with the specimen in which he briefly described the process of preparation as follows:

> After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims, a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process. (95)"

"95. Barriero, in Ballaert, 1863a, p. 112."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Barriero's description of the ceremonies carried on in connection with obtaining the tsantsa are more complete than his description of the method of preparation. Bollaert apparently was not convinced of the accuracy of Barriero's description, for he says later:

> A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mold of clay. (96)

In the same year, 1863, Merritt presented two examples before the American Ethnological Society of New York, which with eight others had been obtained in the vicinity of Macas. Merritt says;

"96. Bollaert, 1863a, pp. 114-115."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

> There is a tradition among the Indians, that these heads were originally taken from 'Huacas' (97) belonging to their ancestors, many generations ago, and that since they have been kept in their huts, preserved with great veneration, and jealously guarded as household divinities.
>
> How these heads in question were contracted to such a diminutive size, I can only repeat rumors; one is, that they were contracted by hot stones or pebbles, which were put into the cavity of the head after bones were removed; another is, that they were contracted by a process which occupied a year. (98)

After quoting from Bollaert's article, he describes in detail the specimens in his possession. In this account Merritt expresses the opinion that the tassels depending from the lips of the tsantsas may have some connection with the old Quipu records of Peru. (99)

"97. Tombs. It is evident that the practice of burying trophy heads with their owners was commonly practiced in ancient Peru as described earlier in this chapter. The Jivaros appear now to have abandoned the custom. If Karsten is correct regarding the motives in preparing tsantsas this would seem to indicate a different attitude in earlier times.

98. Merritt, 1863, p. 13.

99. Merritt, 1863, pp. 14-16."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175, 727

From this time on, descriptions are so numerous that it would be impracticable to mention them all. Both Rivet and Saville give lengthy bibliographies of the literature referring to shrunken heads, where most of the later references may be found. (1)"

"1. Rivet, 1907; Saville, 1929."

2: Stirling--72 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

"When during a raid an individual is killed who happens to be related to a member of the opposite party, Jivaro custom does not permit that a tsantsa be made of the victim's head. It also happens that a Jivaro will sometimes succeed in killing an enemy but will be compelled to retreat before he has had the opportunity of taking his victim's head. Sometimes during the heat of a battle the friends of slain Jivaros have an opportunity of concealing the bodies or taking them away before the enemy can secure them. In such instances the Jivaro victor later prepares a tsantsa from the head of a sloth, which serves as a substitute (pl. 33). There is a reference by Barriero which seems to refer to this practice:

> If pressed by the enemy so that the Jivaro does not have time to cut off the head of his dead enemy, the traditional ceremony takes place anyway and the tsantsa is replaced by the head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy. (3)

This must have referred to the sloth and Barriero probably misunderstood his informant."

"3. Barriero, in Bollaert, 1863a, p.113."

2: Stirling--72-73 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 773, 727

"In the origin myth of the Jivaros, Uñushi, the sloth, is represented as the first Jivaro and, when the original blood revenge feud took place, the sons of Mika and Ahimbi cut off Uñushi's head and from it made the first tsantsa. (4)

The writer had an opportunity of witnessing a portion of a ceremony of this nature at the jivaría of Cahaka on the lower Upano River. Several years previously one of the wives of Nakata, a brother of Cahaka, was persuaded by a man of the Achuales tribe by the name of Ungucha to run away with him. Nakata followed them to Ungucha's jivaría, where he succeeded in killing Ungucha and recapturing his wife, whom he brought back with him. As she had been an accomplice in the affair, he cut off her ears and her nose and then with a machete cut off both her hands before the other women in the jivaría as an example to them, and he threw the body into the river.

Ungucha was a relative of Nakata, for which reason his head was not taken at the time of his assassination. After several years had elapsed Nakata killed a sloth and the ceremony was performed in Cahaka's jivaría. In general, the ceremony is very similar to the regular tsantsa feast, except that the head is shrunk in the jivaría [73] and the ceremony of leg painting is omitted. In this instance the sloth was prepared during the night in Cahaka's house, where it was hung from a pole. A large number of visitors were

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"4. See p. 128."

present, representing numerous jivarías in the vicinity, including some who had been enemies as a result of the killing of Ungucha. Enough time had elapsed that these had temporarily at least become friends.

The head was hung over the fire from a lance, the butt of which was planted diagonally in the ground. The ceremony lasted for 4 days until the food and nijimanche was exhausted. Cahaka, as head of the household, played the large wooden drum, while Nakata played the small drum or tambo. At the conclusion of the ceremony the head was placed in a closed basket and hung from the rafters of the house. Shortly afterwards the writer secured this head (pl. 33)."

2: Stirling--75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 778

"To understand the motives behind the preparation of tsantsas it is necessary to realize that the tsantsa possesses tsarutama or magical power in much the same manner as did the prepared scalps or the sacred masks of the North American Indians. Properly cared for, they were agents for the good of the possessors. Improperly treated, they were powerful factors for misfortune. Anguasha, the famous head hunter of the Yaupe, explained that the tsantsa was a trophy which indicated that the maker had properly fulfilled the obligation to his lineage in taking blood revenge and therefore possessing it would act for his good fortune as it would please the spirits of his ancestors."

2: Stirling--75-76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 769

"The ceremonies held with the tsantsas are in the nature of an exhibition for the benefit of departed relatives in order to show that the Jivaros are fulfilling their obligations of blood revenge. The severed head, previous to its preparation as a tsantsa, is looked upon as inert and impotent. The ceremonies and processes attendant upon the preparation of the head, transforming it into a tsantsa, charge it with magical powers so that it becomes animated with tsarutama, much in the same manner as ceremonial masks and other paraphernalia are vitalized in the pueblo area of the American Southwest. (6) [76] Because of this fact, it is necessary in making a tsantsa to follow these rituals carefully and to continue to comply with certain observances, which link the tsantsa with its maker on the one hand and his lineage on the other, for a stated period of time following the preparation.

Most of the early tsantsas that came to the attention of Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century were looted from burial sepulchers of the Jivaros. There is no doubt that in former times it was the custom to bury the tsantsa trophies with the warrior who had prepared them, and this is probably done in some sections of the Jivaro country at the present time. It seems very improbable that a Jivaro would desire to have the bottled-up ghosts of his enemies interred with him in the same tomb. The preparation

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"6. This interpretation differs considerably from that of Karsten, who says that the principal reason for the preparation of the tsantsas is to paralyze the spirit of the dead enemy attached to the head so that it cannot escape and take revenge upon the murderer."

2: Stirling--75-76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 769

of a tsantsa is considered a definite insult to the enemy. Because the ghosts of relatives are feared more than those of enemies, tsantsas are never made of relatives killed in fights or battles."

2: Stirling--76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 439

"In concluding this discussion of shrunken heads, a word should be said concerning counterfeit tsantsas. It is probably safe to say that the majority of specimens now in private collections, and even in many scientific museums, are of fraudulent origin. Formerly it was not easy to induce the Jivaros to part with their tsantsas. However, in recent years, the more or less standard price of a gun for a head became established between traders and the Indians. To discourage this traffic, both the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Governments have passed laws prohibiting their exportation. Nevertheless, as might be expected, a good many are smuggled out. The majority of the heads which leave the country, however, were never in the hands of the Jivaros but were prepared by various individuals from the bodies of unclaimed paupers to supply the constant demand of tourists and travelers."

2: Stirling--76-77 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 439, 727

"The trade of manufacturing imitation tsantsas has been pursued for at least 75 years at various places in Ecuador, in Colombia, and in Panama. The first reference to this profitable form of taxidermy is by Philippi, (7) in 1872, who calls attention to the activities of a white man living on the borders of the Jivaro country. This man, having learned the method of preparation from the Indians, had made and sold two such heads which Philippi had seen. Philippi's description and illustrations of an acknowledged fraudulent specimen shows the difficulty, in some cases, where Jivaro techniques are closely followed, of detecting spurious examples. [77]

Ambrosetti, (8) in 1903, published another less clever imitation, and Rivet, (9) who discusses this matter at some length, illustrates an example which he secured in Quito, made by a student in Loja."

"7. Philippi, 1872b, p. 343.
8. Ambrosetti, 1903, pp. 519-523, pl. IV.
9. Rivet, 1908, pl. I, fig. 1."

"In most instances it is not difficult to detect the frauds. The Jivaros have a somewhat stereotyped method of distorting the features by pulling out the lips and spreading the nostrils, producing a false prognathism and giving the impression of a retreating chin. The forehead is compressed laterally and at the level of the temples there are two depressions, probably resulting from the technique of grasping the head at these points while preparing it. Most of the counterfeit heads reproduce the features much more naturally than the genuine specimens, preserving the aspect of the features more nearly as they were in life.

Many of the false specimens do not have the facial down removed, nor are they polished. The Jivaros usually singe off this fine hair and polish the skin. Likewise, some of the counterfeiters fail to blacken the skin. This black color is superficial, however, and in old or worn specimens the yellow color of the skin is often exposed.

On most of the genuine examples there is a median posterior incision extending from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed. Sometimes there are two lateral cuts going up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and Rivet (12) describes

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"12. Rivet, 1908, p. 80."

one in which the posterior incision does not disjoin the cervical section but is in the form of an occipital buttonhole.

The nature of these incisions is not a safe criterion in judging specimens, as similar techniques are employed by the counterfeiters. However, the method of sewing the incision may often tell the tale. [78] The counterfeiter usually does a more skillful job of sewing than the Jivaro, having finer tools, and generally uses a much finer fiber than the Indians, or he may even substitute thread.

The Jivaros invariably pierce the crown of the head with a circular hole through which the suspension cord is passed. Sometimes there are two such holes placed along the median line of the crown. The counterfeiter usually omits these perforations.

The Jivaro specimens likewise have the lips perforated vertically; as a rule with three or four holes made by passing through the chonta pins to prevent the mouth from warping during preparation. Sometimes the pins remain in place with cotton cord lashings; sometimes they are removed and the lips tied together with cotton strings, often with long ornamental pendant tassels. During the present century, in order to enhance the 'showiness' of their products, it has become the frequent practice of counterfeiters to decorate their tsantsas with feather headdresses and similar ornaments, a practice never followed by the Jivaros. The only decorations ever seen on genuine tsantsas are the lip cords, which sometimes have a few beetle wings or feathers attached, and occasionally small toucan feathers are attached to miniature tubes in the ear lobes, but not through the rims of the

2: Stirling--77-78 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 727, 439

ears as is done by one counterfeiter.

Occasionally, as Up de Graff has indicated, counterfeiters shrink an entire body after the fashion of a tsantsa. Most of these specimens have evidently originated in Panama. Von Hassel states that a tribe exists in the region of the Cusicuari, Rio Negro, and Orinoco who reduce entire bodies in this manner. However, if his information in this regard is no more accurate than it was when he recorded that the Aguarunas reduce human heads to a fifth their size, more or less with hot stones and the smoke of a bonfire of the roots of certain palms, saying, 'This smoke, which has the same quality as alum, contracts and reduces the head to the size they desire', we may well discount the former statement.

Rivet encountered an Ecuadorian who told him that in exchange for an old gun he had persuaded a Jivaro to shrink an entire body for him. This brings up a final type of counterfeiting most difficult of all to detect, namely, occasional shrunken heads prepared by the Jivaros for trade or to order, which are not actually tsantsas at all."

3: Simson--387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Pintuc Indians do not come under the Spanish denomination of 'bravos;' they offer no violence to strangers of gentle purpose, but they ally with their half-brothers, the Canelos and Sarayacu Indians against the more aggressive Jívaros on the right bank of the Pastassa, and near the Morona, or Paute. They have a most perfect and finished method of scalping, by which the victim's head is reduced to the size of a moderately large orange, maintaining tolerably well all the features. Only the lips, point of the nose, and all the thicker fleshy portions, of course acquire too much prominence. To produce these ghastly objects, the skin is cut round the base of the neck, and the entire covering of the skull removed in one piece. This is then dried gradually by means of hot stones placed inside it, until the boneless head shrinks to the required size. They also wear their slain enemies' hair in long plaits round the waist."

"A victory on the battlefield is for these Upper Amazon Indians the signal for the most hideous, the most significant of all their rites to be begun. On that never-to-be-forgotten day the whole scene was enacted before our eyes, an experience which it has, perhaps, never been the lot of civilized beings to undergo before or since. That is a sweeping statement, and at the best I am only assuming the probable, but I can only say that neither I nor my fellow explorers were ever able to discover, directly or by hearsay, that this ghastly performance was ever witnessed by any other white men. Certain it is that in all my conversations with prospectors and rubber-hunters, I have never heard of any but the most conflicting conjectures as to the mode of preparation of the Jívaro heads.

The comparatively little that has been written about the process through which they pass--and they are relics of war which are unique in all the world--has been invariably, as far as my study of the question goes, based on the hearsay evidence, often incorrect in essential details, of the white or half-caste planters or priests whose lives are spent at stations situated on the fringe of the real Jívaro head-hunters' country, the basins of the Marañon and Santiago within a radius of some three hundred miles from Borja. [273]

It would seem that this rite is so closely guarded a secret, by reason of the inter-racial hatred between white man, and brown man, and the obvious natural obstacles in the way of him who would explore these regions, that the ceremony is destined to be observed only by a very few. It must indeed be a strange set of cirsumstances, in which

4: Up de Graff--272-273 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727

chance must play no small part, which will combine to show a white man what we were compelled to observe.

Thus my account of the events of that day constitutes, if I may presume to say so, an authentic description of a process which has baffled many a commentator on the subject."

4: Up de Graff--273 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"Those of the Huambizas, then, who had been fortunate enough to escape from the spears of the raiders had fled to the shelter of the largest of the little group of houses which had been attacked. There cannot have been more than ten or fifteen of them shut up within its walls, but the Aguarunas had not the spirit to attack them now that they were aroused. That is the Jívaro way.

The enemy having left their dead and dying behind them in their flight, the victors dashed forward to seize the most highly treasured of the spoils of battle--the heads of the enemy slain. With stone-axes and split bamboo knives, sharpened clam-shells (rubbed to a keen edge on sand-stone), and chonta-wood machetes, they went from corpse to corpse, gathering and stringing their gruesome emblems of victory."

4: Up de Graff--273-274 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"I must mention that no delicate considerations of sex are allowed to interfere with these rites; a woman who fights, or a woman who refuses to accompany the victorious war-party to their homes and serve a new master, exposes herself by the acknowledged code of warfare among these people to the risk of suffering the same fate as her menfolk. Indeed I myself happened to watch [274] the fate of a Huambiza woman who had fallen in the fight wounded by three spears. Little did we imagine what the ultimate issue might prove to be, when we attacked that morning.

The woman lay where she had been borne down by the spear-thrusts. The Aguarunas, eager to collect her head, went to work while she was still alive, though powerless to protect herself. While one wrenched at her head another held her to the ground, and yet another hacked at her neck with his stone-axe. Finally I was called upon to lend my machete, a far better implement for the work in hand. This was truly an act of mercy, to put the poor creature out of her misery as soon as possible. It was a truly hideous spectacle. But it must be remembered that had we attempted interference, we were but five in a horde of fiends, crazed by blood and lust. When at last the head was severed, it was strung with the one other which had fallen to the lot of our party."

4: Up de Graff--274-275 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"Stringing of the heads is in itself an art, the object of which is to facilitate their transportation. They are strung on thin lengths of pliable bark stripped from some nearby sapling, which make a first-rate substitute for the hempen cord of civilization. These bark-ropes are passed through the mouth and out at the neck.

The party then set to work to loot the houses from which the occupants had been driven. Nothing escaped the raiders. I was there in one of the houses with them, and well remember the motley collection of things that we found. There were Peruvian coins, china cups and saucers, a butcher's knife, a number of red bandana handkerchiefs, all evidently looted from Barranca, a Jívaro hand-loom with a half-finished piece of cloth on it, an iron spear-head, and a number of small Jívaro household objects which are to be found in any settlement. Nothing was too small to escape the Aguarunas' atten[275] tion. They cleaned out the house from end to end, every man keeping for himself all he could lay hands on. Then they fired the roof, and in a moment the whole house was ablaze, the great heat roasting the decapitated body of the Huambiza woman."

4: Up de Graff--275 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"It will be remembered that a party of Antipas had separated from the main body, as agreed between the Indians before the attack, to storm another group of hutments further up the creek. It was at this moment, then, that we decided among ourselves to push on after them and see how they had fared. We had not gone more than a few yards when we were met by the same party returning, laden with dripping heads. No less than nine they brought; some tied in pairs by their own hair and slung round the neck of one of their conquerors, others slung with bark-ropes. This gruesome procession was led by a short, fat savage; laden with his share of the spoils, grinning in triumph, with his teeth stained black and filed to a point, his thick-set shoulders spattered with the blood of his victims, he was a diabolical-looking creature."

4: Up de Graff--275 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 727

"It seems superfluous to mention that these people, like all cowards, are absolutely devoid of pity. However, they do not indulge in the worst habit of the old North American Indians, that of torturing their prisoners."

"The ceremony commenced with the placing of the heads in the sand, face upwards; each naked warrior in turn seated himself on one of them and the medicine men, of which there were two with the party, commenced to chew tobacco (borrowed from me, I remember). Approaching from behind, one of them took a half-Nelson on the seated warrior, drew his head back, took his nostrils in his mouth, and forced a quantity of tobacco juice up his nose. This strange procedure is not without explanation; it is the local equivalent to an anti-toxin against the baneful influence of the enemy's medicine man, a form of protection which the natives firmly believe makes them immune from the disasters and plagues to which their foes can subject them. (I may mention that my firm resolution to take a personal part in the ceremonies faded before the nauseous picture of this, the first degree of that wild brotherhood. Jack aptly termed this performance 'The Bull's Eye Degree.') The effect which this treatment had on the warriors was [277] at once exhilirating and overwhelming--the former on account of their unshakeable faith in its merits, the latter because of its natural physical results.

Recovered from their choking and gasping, the privileged few who had merited this nicotinous inoculation by reason of their having participated in the killing of the victims and dipped their spears in their blood, proceeded to peel the heads.

This is done by carefully parting the hair straight down from the crown to the base of the skull, slitting the skin down the line formed by the parting, hard on to the bone of the skull; turning it back on both sides, and peeling it from the bony structure just as a

4: Up de Graff--276-282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727

stocking is drawn from the foot. At the eyes, ears, and nose, some cutting is necessary, after which the flesh and muscles come off with the skin, leaving the skull clean and naked but for the eyes and teeth.

The incision or slit from the crown to the base of the neck, was then sewn together again, with a bamboo needle and palm-leaf fibre (the *chambira* from which the hammocks, ropes, fish-lines and nets are made), leaving untouched for the moment the opening at the neck. The lips were skewered with three bamboo splinters, each about two and a half inches long and lashed together with strands of cotton fibre, which held them tightly closed, in the same manner as the sheets of a sailing boat are fastened to the cleats on the deck; tassels being afterwards formed by the frayed ends of the fibre. The eyeholes were closed by drawing down the upper eyelashes. The eyebrows were held from falling by small pegs or props of bamboo, vertically set between the outer rim of the eyelashes (thus effectively holding them in place) and the shoulders of the corresponding eyebrows. The holes of the nose and ears were temporarily plugged with cotton. [278]

The purpose of these several operations was to hold the features of the face in position and to seal the openings, so that the head could again be expanded to its normal proportions by filling it with hot sand and thus permit an even contraction of the whole in the further process of curing. The meat at the base of the neck was 'basted' with *chambira*, to prevent its wearing and wasting away by handling in the succeeding operations.

In the meantime, several large fires had been kindled and numerous earthenware crocks filled with water were placed in readiness.

A description at this point of the ease with which the Jívaros start a fire by means of their primitive methods may be of interest.

A hard-wood stick is made to revolve at high speed by means of a bow whose string is wrapped about it, its lower end resting on a piece of pith. The necessary pressure on the stick is obtained by bearing on a flat stone which fits on the upper end of the stick, held in position by means of a small round hole which serves as a socket. The pressure of the stick on the pith sets up sufficient friction to cause the latter to smoulder, when it is easily blown into a flame. This simple equipment is packed with every party as we carry matches. But also, on short trips, the Jívaros carry with them a smouldering hornet's nest, at the end of the branch on which it was originally built, which serves the double purpose of a kindler and of a protection against the swarming myriads of sand-flies and gnats which infest the shores of some rivers during the summer months.

The crocks which are used on these occasions have been made with the utmost care by the medicine men in person, far removed from all human eyes and under auspicious lunar conditions; they are brought carefully [279] wrapped in palm-leaves to ensure the impossibility of their being either touched or seen by any unauthorized person until the moment for the ceremony arrives. For every head there is one of these red, baked clay, conical pots, some eighteen inches in diameter by eighteen inches deep; the apex of the cone rests on the earth, the sides being supported by stones; in this way the fire has ample access to the greatest possible surface.

The pots were filled with cold water, straight from the river, and the boneless heads filled with sand placed in them. Within half an hour, the water had been brought to a boiling-point. This was the critical moment. The heads must be removed before the water actually boils, to prevent the softening of the flesh and the scalding of the roots of the hair, which would cause it to drop out. The heads, on being removed were found to have shrunk to about one-third of their original size. The water, I noticed, was covered with a yellow grease similar to that which forms when other meats are cooked.

The pots were cast away into the river, too holy to be put to any further use, and the fires were heaped up with fresh logs, to heat the sand on which they stood. For henceforth the sand played an important part in the proceedings.

Meanwhile, those who had been treated, or initiated by the medicine men, namely the participants in the actual kill, were privileged to hold a special ceremony of their own; the naked skulls were taken off, and each group retired a short distance to hold the sacred rites which follow the boiling of the flesh-heads. We were not allowed to participate, as is to be supposed, and furthermore, the temper of the Indians at that particular moment was not conducive to too close an observation of their doings on our part; we were, indeed, convinced by this time of the very real desire which shone through [280] the eyes of our brothers-in-arms to add five more heads, as well as five rifles and a canoe-load of presents, to the day's booty. It would appear that some form of muttered parley took place, a serious business in comparison with the wild caperings which follow when the skulls are brought back to the main party. The interpretation of these rites was undiscoverable by reason of the fact that the Chief, the sole interpreter among the Jívaros, was far too busily occupied with an attempt to persuade me of the absolute necessity of our going down-stream not more than one white man in any single canoe! The childlike simplicity of these people's natures, the blatant transparency of their ruses, is only another proof of their close proximity to animals.

So the skulls were brought back and stuck on spear-heads, the spears standing upright in the ground, and around them took place a dance, celebrated by all and sundry with wild yells, and the throwing of spears across the skulls from one warrior to another. We had to play our part, leaping and shooting our rifles into the air--but not more than two of us at a time exposed ourselves to the obvious risk of some accidental spear-thrust! With all of us in the ring together, the Indians would have made short work of the party.

By now hot sand had been prepared in large quantities. This was poured into the heads at the neck-opening and while thus filled they were ironed with hot stones picked up with the aid of palm-leaves. This process, which began that day on the sand-bar, is continued in the ordinary way for some forty-eight hours until the skin is smooth and hard and as tough as tanned leather, the whole head gradually shrinking to the size of a large orange. The resemblance to the living man is extraordinary. Indeed, the reduced heads, when skillfully made, are exact miniatures of their former selves. [281] Every feature, hair, and scar is retained intact, and even the expression is not always lost. When perfected, they are hung in the smoke of a fire to preserve them from the depredations of the multitudinous insects which would attack and demolish them. As I noticed that afternoon, however, the preservation of the features in their former shape is not always the object of those who prepare them; some of the Aguarunas were to be seen deliberately distorting them while they were still flexible, as if in mockery of their enemies. They took a particular pleasure in distending the mouth, which accounts for the expression to be seen on many Jívaro heads.

Into the late afternoon the careful preparation of the heads continued. By this time, all were working with a will to cure them, so that a start down-stream could be made that evening. Time and again the cool greasy sand was poured from the half-dried heads, giving out the odour of an evening meal, only to be refilled with a fresh hot supply. Flat stones were always in the fires, being heated for the constant ironing to which the faces were subjected; they slid easily over the skin, like a flat-iron on linen, due to the natural oil which exuded from the contracting pores.

Hot coarse pebbles were substituted for sand in the final process, the heads being constantly tilted from side to side to prevent them from burning the meat, as dice are shaken in a box. The small amount of oil still exuding on the face was now wiped away with fresh cotton as fast as it appeared and the operation continued until all the fat and

4: Up de Graff--276-282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-7
116, 727

frease [sic] was 'fried out' of the head when it was considered 'cured' or mummified, shrunk to the last diminutive size attainable.

Even the captive children were playing round the fires, innocent of the hideous import to them of this, the most tragic moment of their lives. Little did they [282] realize that in a few years' time they would themselves be called upon to kill and behead their own kin. Already they were friends with their captors into whose family they had been merged forever.

Thus ended a day unique, I verily believe, in the history of exploration."

4: Up de Graff--282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 595

"I will add a few remarks concerning the ultimate fate of the trophies whose early history I have told.

The Jívaros never take adult male prisoners, but the women and children who are caught in the periodical raids are given the same standing in the victorious tribe as those who are born into it. Polygamy is forced on the Jívaro peoples by the constant drain on the male population caused by the incessant inter-tribal warfare. But for polygamy they would soon become extinct."

4: Up de Graff--282-283 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"What the scalp is to the North American Indian, the battle-standard to the civilized warrior, the heads are to the Jívaro. But the comparison is only true up to a point. For whereas the glory of the battle-standard and the scalp is undying, that of the Jívaro heads endures only to the end of the great Festival of Rejoicing with which they are honoured on the return of the war-party to their homes

During the absence of the warriors their women have made ready vast quantities of giamanchi. This preparation contains just enough alcohol to inebriate when taken in enormous quantities, as the savages do on these occasions. Unlike civilized intoxicants its only action is stupefying. The tom-toms are brought out, and men and women throw themselves into the business of dancing and drinking themselves to sleep. The rhythmic beats of the drums resound through the woods for many a long hour. Only the soporific effect of the liquor suffices to bring the orgy to an end.

Afterwards the heads are shorn of their hair, which [283] is converted into permanent trophies in the form of belts to be worn round the loin-cloths of their distinguished owners in battle or at the feast. The possession of such a trophy singles a man out for special regard. But the heads themselves have now lost their value, as surely as pearls which have died. It is curious that the fanatical jealousy with which they are guarded up to the time of the festival should give place to that complete indifference which allows them to be thrown to the children as playthings and finally lost in river or swamp."

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 152, 484

"We were by this time ourselves the object of many a greedy pair of eyes. Those battle-heated savages were in a nasty temper. They were becoming bolder every minute, approaching in groups of five or six in an attempt to borrow our rifles and not always remembering to leave their spears behind them even then. One who was too persistent in his desire to disarm Jack received the butt-end of his Winchester full in his chest, an incident that did not tend to smooth matters over. We were rapidly losing our self-control, much as we wanted to avoid another massacre. There was a lull in the trouble however, when Tuhuimpui came up to pow-wow, still insisting that he 'thought it would be as well if each of us captained a Jívaro dugout, at intervals throughout the long column, to inspire his men with confidence. Our prestige was very great, our power greater. We could save them [286] from disaster, should the Huambizas give chase. We should be a tower of strength to them in the gathering darkness.' All this was highly complimentary, but of course merely served to conceal the crafty designs of that smooth-tongued old scoundrel who coveted our heads and our outfit.

If we were to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations we must walk carefully. With infinite patience, then, through a conversation lasting, perhaps, a quarter of an hour, I persuaded Tuhuimpui that the most we could do would be for four of us to go two and two, while the fifth took a third canoe. Scarcely veiling his disappointment but forced to give way before our determination not to be massacred singly, he went off at last, and gave the necessary orders. Had we been all separated, doubtless at a given signal, the crew

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 152, 484

of each of our canoes would have capsized their craft, themselves diving with their spears, and precipitating us and our Winchesters into the water, where the Jívaros are as much at home as on land, but where our arms would be at a great disadvantage. In a moment we should have been stuck like common paichi."

4: Up de Graff--287-288 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 727

"The grinning skulls of the victims of our raid stared a hideous last look at us from the strand, their naked eyeballs bulging, their dry tongues lolling in a mute farewell. Theirs would never be the good fortune to be buried; disgraced before their fellows they would lie gaping at the sun until the kites and buzzards picked the bones and the dry skulls were swept away by the rising waters to their last resting-place.

In an hour we had made a sand-bar where it was decided to stop for the night. Indeed, by the time my canoe arrived the fires were already blazing, the vanguard having had a few minutes start of us. With the same care as ever, we pitched our camp at a safe distance from that of our 'allies.' Restrained by our show of determination not to be fooled into taking a false step they left us in peace that night. We on our part held another council. Were we to turn back or not?... The boldness of the Jîvaros since their successful raid convinced us that but one thing was wanting to convert a great 'victory' into an overwhelming triumph. A single watch would have been none too safe. All night long the savages sat around their fires, putting the finishing touches to the heads, chattering and gesticulating in the light of the flames.

Next morning we were away as usual with the sun. Once more Tuhuimpui tried to make me see the wisdom of adopting the formation he suggested. Once more [288] I staved him off. So the long line swung down river in the same order, an interval of perhaps a mile between the van and the main body, and the same between the main body and the rear-guard."

4: Up de Graff--288-289 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 609

"For an hour we floated along, nothing but the wash of the paddles to break the silence except the occasional squawk of a parrot. In the stem of my canoe sat Tuhuimpui steering. The three paddlers in the bow swayed to and fro with the ceaseless rhythm that knows no fatigue. Game and I amidships, seated back to back with our rifles across our knees, smoked in silence, never losing sight of the Indians for a moment. Tuhuimpui had received his orders--our dugout was on no account to move up from its place in the rear. We were taking no risks that morning.

Two shots from around the long curve down-stream in quick succession roused us from our reverie. In a flash I had swung my rifle to the right and fired full into Tuhuimpui's stomach. The chief wilted and slid into the bilge-water in a heap. I turned to see Game grappling with the nearest of the canoemen, his Winchester gripped at the muzzle by the savage. Before I had time to jump to his assistance, he too had fired and put an end to the scuffle. In a trice the remaining two slipped into the muddy torrent and disappeared. Meanwhile the canoes stretched out ahead, seeing what had happened, shot forward in a suddent [sic] effort to escape our fire. A few shots sent after them convinced them of their folly, and they took to the water, swimming and diving like a school of porpoises at sea. Once in the water they presented a very difficult target. Swimming below water, they would feel for the surface with one hand, bob up for an instant to take a breath, and disappear once more. And so they made their way ashore, abandoning everything in panic-stricken flight. [289]

4: Up de Graff--288-289 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 609

Jack and Ed. were safe, we knew, for from down-stream came the sound of their firing, the heavy discharge of Jack's .450 followed by the sharper report of Morse's lighter weapon. Anxious to join forces with them, we left the now vacated flotilla of lighter canoes to drift along, and paddled ahead as hard as we could. The alarm had been given, and it was our first duty to see what had befallen our companions after making sure of our rear.

Foreseeing trouble, we had arranged on the night before that in case of a hostile move on the part of the savages, the signal should be two shots fired in rapid succession. It was agreed that they should not be fired without due cause, but that once the alarm was given, each of us would exterminate the Indians in his vicinity. There was to be no hesitation, for, much as we wished to avoid trouble, if trouble came we must meet it instantly. So when the signal shots were fired, we turned on the Jívaros like a flash, knowing that our friends were in great peril, if not already dead."

8: Dickey--201 [4] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 727, 775

"Why do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

Believers in metempsychosis, they are of the opinion that a warrior--and all the intrepid explorers to the contrary notwithstanding, none but the heads of warriors captured in battle ever are shrunken--if allowed to go to the spirit world with his head, comes back to earth with the head of a jaguar. If he goes without a head, the puzzled spirits, who of course have to send him back in some form, give him a head of a rodent or some other harmless animal. As a jaguar he is a menace; as a rat he's harmless. All beautifully logical."

8: Dickey--202-203 (1936) 1936 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"How do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

The answer to this--one of the great mysteries, according to my intrepid friends, and really so great a mystery that there isn't a child of over ten years of age in Ecuador who doesn't know all about it--is based on personal observation.

First, of course, you have to catch your victim and kill him. He has stolen one of your wives--and this is the most frequent cause of internecine wars among the Jivaros --so, you start a war against the reprobate's tribe, with the results described supra.

Now a semicircular incision is made in the cadaver, extending from one shoulder to the other across the chest, and another is made across the back. Now you must be very careful--and you need two assistants in the chore--in dissecting skin, fascia, and flesh, front and back, up past the neck and over the skull, which remains attached to the vertebrae. You now have a sac, consisting of part of the chest, part of the back, all the flesh and skin and hair of the head. And this is wrong-side out. You, with your assistants, have pulled the whole mass over the top of the skull, just as you might pull a glove, wrong-side out, off your hand. When, during your dissection, you reached the occipital protuberance, at the back of the skull, you encountered hard going. The ligaments there held fast. This compelled you to make an incision at this spot on the scalp and carefully to dissect it off the protuberance. In all legitimate shrunken heads--and judging by the tourist trade in the article this means about twenty percent of those which reach the United States--you will notice that the back of the head frequently has been su-

8: Dickey--202-203 (1936) 1936 Jivaro-2
116, 727

tured. The artist who made those had trouble at the occipital protuberance. He had to cut into the back of the head and then, in order to make a clean job, sew it up.

You have removed the head, and portions of the chest and back, from the body. You now clip the excess--the parts of chest and back which were needed for leverage in pulling the mass over the top of the skull--leaving about three inches of neck attached to the head. The head, still wrong-side out, is now placed in a strong solution of bark of the tamajagua tree--a bark which contains much tannin--and left in the solution all night.

The next morning you turn your specimen right-side to, that is, to the position it enjoyed in life, and pour hot sand into the orifice at the neck, filling the hollow head com[203]pletely. This process is repeated hour after hour during ten days. The hot sand cools, more hot sand is placed in the head. During the first applications of hot sand, moisture exudes from the face of the specimen as though it were perspiring most profusely. The quantity of moisture diminishes, of course, after a while, and finally, when the normal 85 percent of the fluid which human flesh contains is exhausted, you have a miniature head about the size of a base-ball. And the features have been wonderfully preserved, for an assistant, during all the ten days, has been molding the ears and cheeks and mouth so that each may retain its relative shape.

You sew up the lips of your specimen with native twine, that the evil spirits contained in it may not emerge--why you think they can't get out at the neck I do not know --and you decorate it with earrings of plumes or beads, or, if you are a member of the Maynas tribe on the remote river Corientes, you place a crown on the head and decorate the long tresses with the iridescent wings of beetles. Maybe you'll stuff wild cotton in the nostrils, and tree bark inside the head--and maybe not.

Of course you have a feast in celebration of your accomplishment. You dance and drink gallons of chicha mascada. And so to bed."

10: Anthony--149-150 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Jivaro has his own peculiar method of celebrating the successful coup against an enemy and in many respects this custom might be compared with that of the North American Indians in taking scalps. The Jivaro cuts off the head of his enemy and, when he has returned to the safety of his own hearth, [150] converts it into a lasting trophy by removing the skull and shrinking down the skin into a miniature head about the size of a man's fist. The process whereby the head is prepared is described in a separate article in this issue by Mr. Charles W. Mead. As a culmination this trophy is used in a ceremonial dance, which generally occurs within a month of the time when the head was taken. The event is in some respects the counterpart of certain scalp dances. The victorious Jivaro dances with his trophy to celebrate his bravery in overcoming an enemy. His friends attend the ceremony and drink quantities of an intoxicating liquor, making much of the occasion. Until this ceremony is consummated, the Jivaro cannot be persuaded to part with the head, but afterward he will trade it for a sufficient inducement, such as a rifle, or in the absence of such a consideration he may hang it up in the hut. The possession of several heads fixes the standing of the owner, although the acquisition of each new head makes the retention of his own more uncertain, for the relatives of the slain man will assuredly attempt vengeance."

11: Mead--161 [2] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The head, with a small part of the neck, is severed from the body. A cut is made from the base of the skull down through the skin of the neck. Through the opening thus made the bones of the head are carefully removed, and the skin and remaining soft parts are dipped into the juice of the huito fruit, which stains them black.

The skin is now ready for the shrinking process, which varies somewhat in different localities. In some divisions of the Jivaro tribe a number of hot stones are put into the cavity, and the whole is constantly turned in order to bring them in contact with all parts of the inner surface. When one Indian tires, the head is passed to another. It is said that the process sometimes continues for a week or more before the head is reduced to the desired size.

In other localities a single stone, nearly the size of the head, is first used, then a smaller one, and so on until the work is completed. In still other localities hot sand takes the place of stones. Long, pendent cords usually fasten the lips together, and one is run through the top of the head to suspend it. The cut in the back of the neck is then sewed up, and the trophy is finished."

13: Rivet--69-70 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

The custom of the Jíbaro is quite different: as soon as he has killed an enemy, he cuts off his head in order to make a mummy. [70] The name of these human trophies has been noted differently by travellers, who have transcribed it according to the phonetics of their native language; so one finds various authors writing: Shanza, Shanja, Zhanzha, Chancha, Zansza, Zanza. After having heard this word pronounced by different people, and living for a long time in Jíbaro country, the true phonetic orthography seems to me to be tsantsa.

13: Rivet--70-71 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 727

Here is the method of preparation: first the savage separates the head from the trunk by a cut which, as nearly as possible, begins very low in back at the level of the shoulders, and descends in front almost down to the chest. Then he cuts away the scalp and the skin of the face from the underlying bones, through a median and posterior incision which begins at the forehead and usually descends to the base of the neck. Exceptionally, he uses a double lateral incision rising toward the mastoid region. Thus the whole cranial and facial skeleton is quite easily removed.

This skin is immediately put to boil in water in order to asepticize the tissues and the hair. To this water, doubtless to increase the disinfecting power of the solution, the Indian adds certain herbs from the forest (1). This operation finished, the skin is placed over a mould consisting of a round, very hot stone, this is replaced by a smaller one, and so forth, the last used being the size of an orange, while with the aid of another equally hot stone, the Indian smooths over the skin on the exterior as with an iron (2); the lips have been pierced with three openings meeting each other and are carefully fastened together so as to prevent the mouth from opening while the dessication is going on; it appears that upon certain tsantsas, the same precaution has been taken for the

1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 29.

2. Juan Ansola Martinez. Del pais de los Jíbaros (Blanco y Negro. Madrid, June 1, 1906, no. 839).

eyelids. Little by little, under the action of the heat, the skin shrinks, hardens and takes on a very characteristic deep brown color. The posterior incision is then carefully sewed up, after the stone on the inside has been taken out, and a hole is pierced in the top of the head, for the purpose of attaching a suspension cord.

The preparation does not require more than one day (3). [71] Some of the hair, which is too thick for the reduced surface of the scalp, is shaved off and used to make the girdles of which I have spoken, then the head is combed and decorated with some ornaments. In order to make the tsantsa more durable, they fill it from time to time with very hot sand, and expose it to the heat of the fire (4).

Such is the current procedure employed by the Indians of Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora. The missionaries say that a warrior never leaves on an expedition without carrying with him in his shigra the necessary stone for making the mummies: This is probably the last stone used, the size of which determines the final reduction of the mummy, or perhaps in case of a distant expedition, the Jíbaro contents himself with a single stone instead of the complete set which he usually uses.

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 63-64. Reiss is wrong when he tells that the procedure lasts eight days; according to the German traveller, during this time, the one performing the operation should not use his hands for any other work, and he should be fed like a child: Reiss, op. cit., p. 335.
4. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 159.

13: Rivet--71 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

I have every reason to believe that among the other tribes the procedure does not differ to a great extent. However, a tsantsa described by Colini seems, as we shall see, to have been made by a more complicated procedure. In any case, one cannot repeat too often that the Jíbaros do not use any secret. In Quito itself, a medical student from the city of Loja made some imitations with subjects from the ampitheater, as small as the original pieces, according to the method I have just described. Dr. Wilhelm Hein has made similar attempts successfully in the pathological-anatomical Institute of the general hospital of Vienna (1). In the report that he made on this subject he shows four mummies made with the heads of one woman and three men, and for purposes of comparison three authentic tsantsas belonging to the Imperial and Royal Museum of Natural History of Vienna. The shrinking was done with the aid of warm stones; on the other hand, an attempt to desiccate the skin from a woman's head by use of the sun failed completely. It has therefore been shown that mummies can be made by the process indicated, with fairly great ease.

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1. Wilhelm Hein. Die Kopftrophaen der Jíbaros (Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vol. XXIII, 1893. Sitzungsberichte, page 28).

13: Rivet--71-72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 435

The first tsantsas coming to Europe had their hour [72] of renown and attained extraordinary prices. In 1865, one of them was sold for 1500 francs (1). Ten years ago another was sold at auction for 500 francs at the Hotél Drouot (2). Actually, these objects are much less rare and have lost a part of their commercial value. At Macas, at Gualaquiza and at Zamora, the whites buy them directly from the Indians for ten sucres, that is 25 francs, and take them to Cuenca, Riobamba and Loja, where they resell them for 30 to 50 sucres, that is 75 to 125 francs. In Europe, the best examples are worth 200 and 300 francs and there is not an important museum that does not possess at least one. In Paris, the Museum of Natural History has five of them, the Anthropological Society one, the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadero three, the Army Museum one, and also there are a good number in private collections.

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1. Pozzi, op. cit. page 359.
2. D. Les Tetes Momifiees des Incas (La Nature, 20 Octobre 1900, No. 1430, p. 336.

13: Rivet--72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 175

These trophies have always given rise to the most fantastic theories. A tsantsa sent in 1862 to the Internation Exposition in London by the Chilean Consul, Don. R. de Silva Ferro, was exhibited there as an Inca head (!) (1) In 1882, Barbosa Rodrigues attributes the specimen that he describes to the Mundurucus (2). The anonymous author who published one of the specimens shown by Ecuador at the World Exposition in 1900, reports that the Inca warriors had the custom of suspending the heads of their enemies from their saddles (?) (3); and only recently the tsantsas were presented by the Berlin papers as heads of pygmies from the Congo. (4) These errors are all the less explicable since for a long time serious ethnographers have known that at present they are the work of the Jívaros.

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1. Bollaert, op. cit., page 114, note 1.
2. J. Barbosa Rodrigues. Tribu dos Mundurucus. Cabeca mumificada (Revista da exposicao anthropologica, Brazileira. Rio de Janero, 1882, page 39).
3. D. Les Têtes Momifiées des Incas, op. cit.
4. Je sais tout, 15 Février, 1907.

13: Rivet--72-73
116, 177, 727

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

It seems, however, that before the conquest and in the years that followed, other Indians also made these objects. In fact, here is what Zarate says of the natives who inhabit the region between the Cordillera and the Pacific on the present territory of the republic of Ecuador: "In some temples, especially in the towns that they call de Passo, on all the pillars of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so [73] well cured that they did not smell badly, and there were nailed up many heads of Indians that had been shrunk with a certain decoction until they were the size of a fist"(1).

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1. Augustin de Zarate. Historia del Descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Péru, Séville, 1577. Liv. 1, chap. 4, page 3. I can only find on the actual map of Ecuador, Cape Pasado, of which the name recalls the locality mentioned by Zarate. This cape is on the coast of the province of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques.

13: Rivet--73 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

Some other tribes emply methods of preserving bodies of their enemies that are similar but not identical. For instance, an ancient Spanish writer tells us of the Indians of Popayan (Southern Colombia): "The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, filled with coarse ashes, they have set up against the walls of their houses like people." (Luis Torres de Mendoza. Colección de documentos ineditos del Archivo de Indias. Madrid, tome V. 1866, page 489.

Lorente, speaking of the Huancas, a Pre-Columbian tribe that lived in the Jauja valley (Peru), reports that they skinned their prisoners and with these skins, filled with ashes, made victory trophies that they exhibited in their temples. (Sebastian Lorente. Historia antigua del Perú. Lima, 1869, page 82).

13: Rivet--73-75
116, 175, 727

(no date) 1908

Jívaro-1

At present, the Jívaros alone have kept the monopoly on the making of mummified heads.

It was the Fathers Manuel Sobreviela and Narcisso y Barcelo, who, in the work that I have just cited, were the first to indicate the method of preparation of these war trophies and to mention the celebration which took place over them. In 1815, Father Prieto also gives a short but excellent description (1). These details [74] that one finds in Villavicencio (2) are still unknown to European ethnographers. W. Bollaert was the first to possess an example of the Jíbaro art of taxidermy which he had received in June, 1861, from M. Cassola, but the publication he made on this subject did not appear until 1863, and the year before Moreno Maiz presented to the Anthropological Society of Paris and described a specimen which had been sent him by M. Galvez, Minister from Perú to France. Since then, quite a number of publications have been made on tsantsas and I give here as complete a list as possible in chronological order.* [75]...A general type stands out, of which I will try to describe the characteristics.

Most of the Jívaro tribes are represented in collections: Pastazas, Tambos or Tumbas, Jambas, Gualaquizas, Achuales, Antipas, Macas, Muratos, Aguarunas, Zamoras.

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1. Prieto. Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros, etc. op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., Tome II, page 63.
2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 361.

* See original source for this bibliography.

13: Rivet--73-75 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 175, 727

So obviously this is a very general custom in all the *Jívaro* country.

As a general rule, mens heads were used; however, one of the tsantsas published by Lubbock was feminine. It is possible that this was a question of an exceptional case, explicable perhaps by the status of the victim, who was the wife of the chief of the Achuales (1).

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--75-76 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 142

It is impossible to determine exactly the age of the victims. It seems, however, that most of the tsantsas are skins of men in the prime of life. White hair has only been found on two of the mummies described by Colini and on my specimens (e) and (f); but it is important to note that the Jívaros, like all the Indians of Ecuador, [76] rarely have white hair. (1) A tsantsa described by Virchow, which came from an individual about 50 years old, showed no trace of it. (2)

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1. In Ecuador, I have often heard the following saying. "An Indian with white hair is more than a hundred years old".

2. Virchow. Eine präparirte Kopf- und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

13: Rivet--76 (no date) 1908 Jívaro -1
116, 727

The first characteristic that strikes one on examining these mummies is their smallness. The following table, in which the average measurements of tsantsas are contrasted with the measurements taken of two Jívaros, gives an exact idea of this reduction:

Measurements	Tsantsas Max.	Min.	Av.	Living (av. of two measurements)	*[see below]
Horizontal circumference	275.0	200.0	238.0	560.0	42.5
Super-circular transverse curve............	170.0	125.0	144.0	____	____
Maximum anterio-posterior diameter..........	95.0	72.0	84.3	181. 0	46.6
Maximum transverse diameter......	70.0	45.0	55.1	150. 0	36.7
Total height of the face	82.5	67.0	75.9	191. 0	35.0
Maximum bizygomatic diameter...	64.0	39.0	49.9	142. 0	35.1

* ratio of the dimensions of tsantsas to those of the living=100

Thus it appears clearly from this comparison that the cranuim is obviously more shrunken transversely than anterio-posteriorly; the face is reduced more symmetrically and to a greater degree than the cranium; there is a disharmony between the two parts of the head; the various parts of the face have not kept their relative proportions; the nose and the lips appear enormous; besides, at the level of the cheeks there appears a

13: Rivet--76 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

transversal flattening as definite as that of the cranium, which is even more striking because at the level of the zygomatic arches, the natural proportions are almost preserved.

13: Rivet--76-78 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 727, 142

The hair in general is very pretty; its length varies from 32 to 65 cm. The hair usually hangs loose but sometimes is braided. It is smooth, coarse and strong, but also [77] supple. It always shows a tendency to a certain waviness without ever being curly. Usually it is jet black, shiny. Sometimes it is very dark chestnut, rarely light auburn. Sometimes it shows red lights, but I am not sure whether this coloring, which is always found near the roots and parts next to the face should be attributed to an impregnation of the red coloring which they use in tatooing. Virchow has made a very careful study of the hair of a tsantsa. I quote from his memoir (1) the following details, "Although to the naked eye the hair was ebony black, the microscope revealed quite a number of light hairs with little color. Certain hairs were large and yellow, and showed, beneath a thin, colorless layer, a light yellow substance in which were found very small yellow-brown grains of pigment in short rows, usually fuseform, and in the center an abundant medullary substance of rather angular shape, slightly more granular, and usually of brown-yellow color. Most of the hair, on the other hand, had a completely colorless cortex. Small black isolated grains were scattered through it uniformly in the center, more com-

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1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit. p. 79-80.

13: Rivet--76-78 (no date) 1908 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 142

pactly on the periphery; the cuticle was a little thicker, and instead of a medullary substance there was often only a series of clear spaces. It was only in isolated examples of especially thick hair that a dark brown medullary substance occurred. In general, this was small and in no case really black. Only a few rare examples appeared completely black or brownish black; but even with these the pigment was more compact at the periphery. On the darkest examples, there was only a narrow transparent circle around a very small and black medullary substance.

"The hair varied a great deal in diameter. The finest examples were circular in cross-section; the coarsest examples were oval, flattened, [78] lenticular or reniform in cross section; and quite a number had triangular cross-sections with rounded angles; these were almost always coarse specimens with a brownish black marginal zone, a lighter center, and a smaller dark medullary substance. The medullary substance of the oval or flattened hairs was either quite small or quite light.

13: Rivet--78 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 142, 727

The skin is usually like oiled black leather, but sometimes it is deep brown or even light brown; in cross-section it has a light brown pigment. Extremely tough and resistant, it is not brittle. Frequently one sees reddish areas or lines of tattooing. Moreno Maiz, on his cross-sections made transparent by turpentine treatment, observed that it had preserved all the anatomical elements(sudoriparous ducts and glands, pilose roots, sebaceous glands, dermis, and epidermic layer) (1). Generally, there is neither beard nor moustache. Sometimes however, there are some stiff, rough hairs on the upper lip and cheek, and Example B even shows a little moustache and a short beard.

The eyebrows are quite often long and thick. On Example E, some hairs measure 2 cm. They are almost always black, but sometimes they are chestnut.

The eyelids are inverted and closed. Quite often the traces of a seam sewing them together are visible. One can sometimes perceive a few black eyelashes.

The nasal-buccal region is always projected very far in front like a snout. The nose, the end of which is turned up and often flattened, is widened, and there is a break at its root, as if it had been jerked forward and upward. The nostrils have wide openings, pointing almost directly forward, allowing the fairly numerous hairs within the cavity to be seen; sometimes they are completely obliterated by a kind of pitch. Rarely, there is a perforation in the septum and immediately below this a mediae orifice.

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1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 187.

13: Rivet--78-80 (no date) 1908 Jívaro -1
116, 727

The large and strongly projecting lips are always pierced with three holes directed downwards. Strands of unbleached cotton pass through these holes and fasten the lips by three loops joined together with a transverse thread. To these strings are attached some little cords of the same kind which hang in a fringe 45 to 50 cm. long. Certain authors have said that the strings indicate the number of warriors killed at the time the head was shrunken (1) [79, 80]: in this case they would really be *quipu*, a result, perhaps, of Peruvian influence, an influence that certain ethnographers believe probable (2). The number of strings varies from 24 to 36, neither are they uniform in size, and the point of attachment of the strings is not always the same. Some are fastened to the vertical loops, others on the horizontal connecting bands; it seems, according to my observations, that the median vertical loop always has two. It is remarkable that perfect symmetry is never observed. (One may also note, on the diagrams on the opposite side (fig. 23), the various arrangements that I have observed on my specimens.) I would not dare at this time to commit myself as to whether this fringe is a simple ornament or has the significance of a *quipu*.

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1. Exposition Universelle de 1867. Republique de L'Equateur. Notice et catalogue par Th. Mannequin. Paris, 1867, pp. 58 and 61.
2. Ratzel. Volkerkunde, tome III, p. 713.

13: Rivet--78-80 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

Giglioli mentions a tsantsa made by the Aguarunas, in which the lips had been pierced by three pieces of chonta instead of the customary string (1).

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1. Giglioli, op. cit., page 202.

13: Rivet--80-81 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 727

In general the ears are very well shrunk and delicately bordered. The lobe is always perforated and sometimes in this perforation is placed a little peg of wood or even, as the example published by Lubbock, a tube of bamboo similar to those that I have described as ear ornaments. The chin appears retreating because of the projection of the nasal-buccal region.

The forehead is laterally compressed and at the level of the temples there are always two depressions, usually very well marked, into which the fleshy part of the thumb fits very easily.

Sometimes the cervical cut passes very near the chin, sometimes a centimeter or two of the skin of the neck is spared. Sometimes the cut is stitched to a hoop of wood in order to preserve the circular form (1), but most often the opening is laterally flattened. On most of the mummies, there is a medial posterior cut from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed; this is the trace of the incision necessary for the preparation; an exception is my Example K, which shows two lateral cuts up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and on my Example E, the posterior incision does not meet the cervical cut and is in form, of an occipital buttonhole. (1)

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1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

13: Rivet--80-81 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

The vertex is pierced with either one or two circular holes visibly placed [81] one before the other on the median line. In the last case, the anterior opening is useless; but the posterior opening or the single opening always is used for a strong double string, held inside the head by a little stick which is placed across the orifice when the *tsantsa* is suspended. On my Example B, three skins of *calistes* [trans. humming birds ?] are attached to this string; sometimes its lower end extends through the opening of the neck and is decorated with a small tuft of feathers. Example E has, suspended from the labial strings, two garlands of the wings of *Mallaspis antennatus* [trans. a beetle]. Sometimes similar ornaments are put in the ears (examples G and I). Hamy has described a *tsantsa* wearing a small *tayucunchi* (2).

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2. Hamy. Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jívaros, *op. cit.*, note 1, p. 58.

13: Rivet--81 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

There are, I believe, the principal characteristics of the shrunken heads of the Jívaros.

Certain *tsantsas* published by other authors differ a little from the type which I have just described.

These differences may depend on their origin: these objects have always been acquired directly from the Indians, and been passed on to Europe. Only the *tsantsa* described by Moreno Maiz came from an old grave (*huaca*) located in the Jívaro territory (1), and it had suffered from its stay in the ground. It is probable that this head had been put at the side of a dead Jívaro chief, since, as a consequence of decomposition and time, it was little by little buried under the detritus from the hut or grave itself, which makes one believe it had been buried. In any case, it is an isolated occurrence.

More interesting are the morphological differences.

At the time of Lubbock's article, Franks mentioned a mummy which was part of the national collection of London, presented by the Prince Consort in 1853. This example, which unfortunately has not been described in detail, was only a thumb high and was placed on a stick and dressed like a doll. It was discovered in a tomb in Pisco (Peru) (2); to my mind, because of its origin and characteristics, this object should not be identified with the *tsantsas*.

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1. Moreno Maiz, *op. cit.*, page 185.
2. Lubbock, *op. cit.*, page 31.

13: Rivet--81-84 (no date) 1908 — Jívaro-1
116, 727

The authenticity of one of the mummies published by Colini can not be doubted, even though it differs appreciably [82] from the current examples (Plate I, fig. 3). Here is the detailed description that I quote from the learned memoir of the Italian ethnographer (1): "This head came from the Muratos; the horizontal circumference at the level of the forehead is 26 cm., at the level of the mouth 31 cm.; the height of the face is from 12 cm. on a median line, to 8 cm. 5 on the sides; the width from one ear to the other is 11 cm. The dark chestnut hair is 25 cm. long. The head is much flattened laterally and the face projects forward, especially its lower half, in the region of the nose and the mouth. The lateral frontal-temporal depressions are deep. The eyebrows are thick, long and very black; at the inner angle of one eye, one can see the trace of stitches made apparently with black thread. The eyelids are completely hidden. There is no beard; inside and at the entrance of the nostrils there are numerous hairs. In the ears one sees traces of large holes which served to hold ornaments. The chin is contracted; although the skin is black and glossy, one can nevertheless distinguish large reddish stains everywhere.

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1. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., p. 28-29. This tsantsa was given to the Prehistoric-Ethnographic Museum in Rome by M. Lucioli; it is numbered 26800.

13: Rivet--81-84 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

The principal characteristic, which distinguishes this head from all the known examples, is the presence of a long chonta point, with a maximum diameter of 1 cm., penetrating under the nasal septum and coming out by the vertex, at the place where the suspension cord is usually placed; this point sticks out 3 cm. in front and 4 cm. 5 behind. Two cotton cords are fastened around the front end of the stick, passing parallel to each other across the nose and forehead, and wound around the back end; 55 cm. of the length remains free and hanging.

Another peculiarity of this head is the existence of three little chonta points, 6 cm. long, stuck vertically through the lips, at the spots where, on the other examples, were found the three holes for the cords that bound them together. Cotton threads are rolled around these sticks, passing alternately above and below the mouth, so that the lips are kept tightly closed. Then another sharp stick is fixed in one of the ears, at the entrance of the auditory canal, at the [83] place where a small hole occurs on some specimens. This head has preserved a part of the skin of the neck about 2 cm. long, covered with black hairs. The neck section is affixed to a circle of wood by a strong stitching of black thread."

On the subject of this truly very curious tsantsa, Colini advances the very rational and seductive hypothesis that here we have a mummy in the process of preparation. The nasal-sagittal stick and the cord fastened to it are probably for the purpose of compressing the portion of the face which, because of the presence of thicker fleshy parts, is the least sensitive to the action of hot stones and would remain too prominent. Moreover, while resting on the nose, the cord keeps it well opened, but also deforms it by compressing the extremity. The labial sticks probably serve to keep in place the threads which assure the closing of the mouth. As for the little stick in the ear, it was probably for the purpose of keeping the auricle close to the head (2). I would not hesitate in agreeing completely with Colini's opinion, which also explains the very characteristic fracture that all the tsantsas have at the foot of the nose because of the action of the anterior cord, if one constantly found the sub-nasal hole on the shrunken heads; doubtless it is far from being rare: it existed on the two tsantsas described by Hamy (Specimens A and B) and it appears clearly on the print that Lubbock published; the second head described by Colini also shows it; but among all the other authors who, before or after the memoir of Colini, have described similar trophies, none mention the presence of this hole; since this might be an omission on their part, I have systematically searched for this characteristic on my unpublished specimens and I have not found it on any of them; in Example E a doubt exists, for the nostrils are filled with a black resin which, in running over the upper lip, might cover the hole. Also I have never observed the perforation located at the entrance of the auditory canal which Colini believes to have found again on his second example. It is therefore impossible to consider this method of preparation as general;

2. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 29.

13: Rivet--81-84 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-4
116, 727

it is not even peculiar to one tribe, since one can find the sub-nasal hole on tsantsas coming from the Jambas, the Achuales, the Gualaquizas, the Macas and the Muratos. However, I think it is now an exceptional procedure [L4] which perhaps used to be general, but is tending to disappear in order to give place to a quicker and simpler procedure.

13: Rivet--84 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 727

After having described the general type of the *tsantsas,* and the authentic pieces distinguished by certain characteristics, I must speak of the false *tsantsas,* were it only to put collectors on guard, for they are frequently found in Europe, and just recently a Parisian naturalist displayed three in the window of his store.

Philippi (1) is the first who called attention to the strange business which certain whites living in the Jívaro country were carrying on, having learned the method of manufacture from the Indians. The example he published was the work of one of these unscrupulous individuals, by acknowledgment of the seller. According to the description given by Philippi and the pictures accompanying the article, the skill of the counterfeiter was not inferior to that of the Jívaro himself. The procedure employed was evidently identical and I think that it would have been difficult, without knowing, to discover the non-authenticity of the piece. It is the head of a woman, but we have seen that Lubbock has described an authentic feminine *tsantsa.* The lips, perforated in three places, do not have the cotton thread fringe, and in the holes are found small pieces of wood, but we have seen that one *tsantsa* of Giglioli possessed the same peculiarity, as well as one of the samples described by Colini. On the other hand, one can note on this shrunken head the exaggeration of a characteristic found on authentic pieces: it seems

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1. Philippi, Menschenköpfe als Trophäen, etc., *op. cit.*, page 343.

13: Rivet--84 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

that the amateur maker did not know as well as the Indians how to make the heat act on the fleshy parts of the face, particularly the lips and the nose; but this characteristic would not have been sufficient (2), I believe, to discredit the authenticity of the object.

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2. According to the print accompanying Philippi's article, it appears that the suspension cord is missing. The text does not mention this matter.

13: Rivet--84-86 (no date) 1908 Jívaro -1
116, 727

The same difficulty does not occur with another false example, published as such by Ambrosetti (1). The mummy was made not with a Jívaro head, but with the head of a half-breed; the hair is short, coarse, rough, stiff, and forms a peak on the forehead; the beard is slight on the sides of the [85] face, but the almost blond moustache is large and drooping, and the chin is covered with coarse, stiff hairs. The cheek-bones are very prominent, the nose a little flattened, the eyebrows very marked; the lobes of the ears are not perforated. The shape of the face is better preserved than on the real *tsantsas*, the forward projection of the whole nasal-buccal region with the fracture at the base of the nose, so characteristic of the real *tsantsas* does not exist. Along each side of the neck there is a lateral incision, ending at a place behind the ear; the suspension cord, the fringe and the lip perforations are absent. Moreover the neck was closed with a mass of fresh wax and the inside of the head filled with narrow bandages, cut alternately along the edges, of a shiny black cotton material of European origin. All these characteristics easily prove that this object is not the work of Jíbaros having killed a half-breed, but of a counterfeiter less aware of the original procedure than the one who made the *tsantsa* of Philippi. This head strangely resembles the false mummies that I have lately seen exhibited, as I have said, in the window of a Paris naturalist.

I have procured for myself in Quito a *tsantsa* made by a student in Loja, which I will speak of later (Plate I, fig. 1).

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1. Ambrosetti, *op. cit.*

13: Rivet--84-86 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

The head seems to have belonged to a male or female Indian from the mountains. It has been shrunk even more than a real mummy; its anterio-posterior diameter measures 59 mm., its transverse diameter 50 mm., the horizontal circumference 185 mm., the super-auricular curve 105 mm., the total height of the face 57 mm., the bizygomatic diameter 45 mm. The harmony of the proportions of the face and the cranium is perfect. There is no lateral flattening. The chestnut hair is 12 cm. long., it is finer, more supple and more curly than Jívaro hair. The skin is dull black; it is thin, fragile, brittle, and yields to slight pressure: as the result of a fall, the whole right side of the face is broken. The sample is much lighter than the real Indian trophies.

It has neither beard or moustache, but on the forehead, the cheeks, the chin and the upper lip, there is a fine down. The dark chestnut eyebrows are well developed, the eyelashes are perfectly visible.

The traits of the physiognomy are much better preserved than on real tsantsas. The nose does not have the fracture at its base, the [86] lobe is not widened but quite flattened at its end. The nostrils are narrow; their openings not gaping and forward-facing. Only the width of the interorbital space is clearly exaggerated clearly. The forward projection of the nasal-buccal region is very slight. The lips are fairly thin and well outlined. The form of the chin is exact; the shape of the cheeks and of the throat is very well preserved. The neck is 1 cm. high; the cut is circular; at this level the skin is coated with pitch.

13: Rivet--84-86 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-3
116, 727

The ears are very well reduced, the lobes are not perforated. The lips do not have the three customary holes, and no hole exists at the vertex. The temporal-frontal depressions are also absent.

The incision, instead of being in back, is double and lateral, going up as far as the mastoidal region. The seams are hidden under a thin coating of resin.

A ball of resin which originally blocked the cervical opening rolls around like a rattle inside the head.

To sum up, this mummy is distinguished from the tsantsas by a great many characteristics, and even the perfection of the reduction, which makes it a real miniature human head, distinguishes it at first sight from the ordinary examples of Jívaro taxidermy.

13: Rivet--86-87 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 727, 825

In order to complete this monograph on the *tsantsas*, I must mention one curious specimen that I procured. It is a sloth head (probably *Choloepus didactylus*, Lin.), shrunk and treated in the manner of a human head, which a Jívaro wore suspended by its hair (Plate I, fig. 2). The only author who, to my knowledge, has pointed out that the Indians sometimes practice mummification on the remains of animals is Barriero (1). "If the Jíbaro is pressed by the enemy, says he, so that he does not have time to cut off the head of his slain adversary, the traditional celebration takes place nevertheless and the *tsantsa* is replaced by a head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy". It is possible that the object that I am about to describe was made for the same purpose.

The head of the animal is appreciably shrunk, if one compares it with the stuffed examples in the mammology hall of the Natural History Museum. The neck was cut by a slanting stroke, [87] high in back and low in front: the distance between the lips and the neck cut is 63 mm. on the ventral surface and 121 mm. on the dorsal surface. Two little sticks penetrate the interior of the head through the cervical opening and seem to have been for the purpose of giving rigidity to the strip of dorsal skin. The long, perfectly preserved hair of the animal completely hides this opening. A hole made at the top of the cranium allows the passage of a double suspension cord. The huge lips, projecting in front, are pierced with the three openings characteristic of *tsantsas*. From

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1. Letter published by Boilaert, op. cit., page 113.

the snout to the end of the hair, the object measures 22 cm.

Lubbock (2) reports that women made prisoners are generally killed at the end of a certain time, in order to make tsantsas with their heads. Might not these feminine mummies have a representative value like the sow head of which Barriero spoke, and doubtless like this sloth head that I have just described?

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2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivèt--244-245 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 796, 727

All the feasts that I have just described are of very little importance compared to the one of which I am now going to speak: the feast of the tsantsas or tsantsa-tucui (1). After a warrior has killed one of his enemies, he knows that he ought to prepare to celebrate the killing: if he does not, a thousand misfortunes will come upon him, his seeds will not sprout, his animals will not prosper, his family and he himself will die, and the annoyed soul of the dead person will not allow him any rest until he has performed the traditional ceremonies. As soon as he returns from the war expedition, the Jíbaro celebrates first with neighbors and friends the feast called de entrada, in which the old man presiding at these performances gives him the concoction of tobacco to drink. This ceremony is naturally the occasion for a drinking feast of several days. After this, the possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (2), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the

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1. Ordinaire. Les sauvages du Perou, op. cit., page 318.
2. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus.--De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.

13: Rivet--244-245 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 796, 727

upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (3). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (4).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seeing him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (5) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaros observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (6).

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 56.
4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, p. 215.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., p. 116.
6. ibid, p. 119.

13: Rivet--246-248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-l
116, 796, 727

At Gualaquiza, the ritual is as follows(1): The old man directing the ceremonies seats himself in the middle of the house, and the Jíbaro enters armed with his lance, carrying the tsantsa in his left hand. The old man stands up, takes the head and plunges it successively into a decoction of tobacco, into a jar of chicha, and then into pure water; then he makes the hero of the day sit down and in turn presents him with these different liquids (fig. 24). This ceremony is for the purpose of "breaking the fast" and thanks to it, the man believes himself free of all obligation. He gets up, takes his trophy and suspends it from the principal house post, which is decorated with flowers, stuffed birds and numerous other trinkets. The old man then begins to talk, improvising a violent panegyric of the victor, whom he calls "a brave Jíbaro, skillful in avenging an injury", heaping the victim's tribe with invective, insulting him and ridiculing him: "Why," he says, "did you not watch? Why were you surprised? Why did you not rub your eyes with pimento in order to have keen sight?"(2) This harangue over, the men take each other by the hand and form a long chain in the interior of the house, and they dance, jumping and walking (fig. 25). In Macas, the women make a similar concentric

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1. Bulletin salesien, August 1896, page 175.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 216.

13: Rivet--246-248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 796, 727

chain to that of the men; only the wife of the hero of the feast is admitted into the men's chain. Each time the latter dances, the old man detaches the tsantsa from the post and suspends it around his neck (3). Sometimes the dance takes place half [247] inside and half outside the house, the chain of dancers entering by one door and leaving by the other, always singing and shouting, and each individual making a kind of genuflection in passing before the trophy. (4).

Finally the old man distributes the bananas and the food among the merrymakers. The piningas of chicha are passed around. The dancing and drinking continue for six days in the midst of an infernal uproar. In fact, the Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing. During all the time that the feast lasts, the invited guests live at the expense of their host. Every morning, about 3 or four o'clock, each family receives a jar full of boiled chicha and a plate of fish.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 54.
4. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misioned dominicanas, op. cit., Fifth letter, page 49.

13: Rivet--246-248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-3
116, 796, 727

In the middle of the night on the sixth day, ten very fat hogs (sometimes more) are killed; an excellent bouillon is prepared, of which each one takes his share at daybreak, then each guest [248] receives a big piece of uncooked meat from the old man, the last gift, which is the signal for departure. Everyone leaves that morning. (5).

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5. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 55.

13: Rivet--248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727

Certain details of this feast seem to vary according to the tribes: in Macas, the old man does not wash the tsantsa but paints it black, and "breaks the fast" by putting into the mouth of the owner a piece of hog and making him drink the decoction of tobacco (1).

Barriero (2) and Lubbock (3) report that, in the same tribe, the possessor of the trophy, after having suspended it from a post above the tsantsas brought by the merrymakers, insults it vehemently; the old man answers in the name of the victim. At a given moment, the victor carried away by anger hits the mummy with his lance, then sews up its lips in order to condemn it to silence. I have not been able to obtain confirmation of this account from my informants; all have told me that the sewing up of the lips has no other purpose than to prevent the mouth from opening during the desiccation.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 54 and 56.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.
3. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--248 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796

According to Barriero, the conqueror suspends the head from a stick in the open air; his favorite wife, holding him by the belt, accompanies him in this procedure. This is the greatest honor which can be conferred on a Jíbaro woman. Behind her, all the men, holding onto each other in the same manner, form a long chain.

According to Reiss (1), the house in which the ceremony has been celebrated, especially built for this purpose, is immediately abandoned, as after a death.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies, and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

13: Rivet--249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727

Formerly the Jíbaros, after the celebration of the feast, suspend the trophies on posts along the roads, after having cut the hair, so that time will destroy them (1), or else preserve them in jars in order to decorate themselves in certain victory anniversary feasts (2), sometimes at the end of many years, they throw them into the rivers (3). They part with them with great reluctance, and Barriero tells how he had to use a ruse in order to obtain a specimen (4). At present, the tsantsas have become a real object of commerce for the tribes in contact with the whites.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre los misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 48.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 33.
4. Lettre published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 112.

13: Rivet--249 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727, 565

The meaning of these trophies is thus rather complex. Among the Aguarunas, the possession of a tsantsa is indispensable to admission into the warrior class and the possession of wives (1). This requirement of initiation seems peculiar to this tribe. No where else does one find classes among the Jíbaros. However, according to Father Prieto, the Indians of Gualaquiza designate under the name Cocarama those among them who have distinguished themselves by the number of enemies killed (2). Perhaps there was then a true warrior class, as among the Aguarunas.

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1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 63.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.

13: Rivet--249-250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 293, 301

The girdles made with the human hair from the tsantsas seem to play a role very similar to the tsantsas themselves. They serve as ornaments only in feasts and on war expeditions. A Jíbaro man will never consent to lend this object, which is the visible proof of the number of his exploits, and upon his death, his relatives encircle [250] his body with it. (1) In case the deceased does not have a tsantsa to leave to his sons, the girdle is preserved by them as a souvenir of his valor (2).

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1. Colini. Osservazion etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 30; Collezione etnografica degli indigeni dell' alto Amazzoni, op. cit., page 35.--Simson, op. cit., page 387. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 37.
2. Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell' Equatore, op. cit., page 102.

16: Skinner--71 (no date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Museum has recently obtained from Mr. Lewis B. Ager, formerly of the Panama Canal Zone, one of the most remarkable, if indeed, not the most remarkable, shrunken head ever collected among the Jivaro Indians of the Province of Oriente on the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains in Ecuador.

This grizzly war trophy, shown in figures 39 and 40, is the venerable head of an elderly white man who possessed a thick crop of curly, snow white hair. Who he may have been, and the history of his death at the hands of the Jivaro warrior who took his head, we will probably never know. In all probability he was some hardy member of an adventurous party of rubber hunters. At any rate, whatever his business in the tangled tropical forests of Oriente, his last venture came to a sudden end, probably by a poisoned blowgun dart or by a spear thrust."

17: Anonymous --2 (no date) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727

"Four human heads, slashed from the bodies of victims by head hunters among the aborigines of Peru and Ecuador, and shrunk to the size of oranges for preservation as trophies, are on exhibition in Case No. 5 in the Hall of South American Archaeology and Ethnology (Hall 9).

A field for speculation is opened by the possibility that one of these heads is that of a white or partly white woman--at least, the features are marked by a European cast. Who she was, and how she got into the hands of the savages to meet this tragic fate will, no doubt, always remain a mystery. Another of the heads appears to be that of a man who also may have had European blood in his veins; the remaining two are typically Indian."

20: Dyott--188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"The Jivaro, so Kuashu told us, preserves the head of his adversary in order that he may acquire strength and prosperity as the just reward of his efforts, and the greater the tenacity of life displayed by the vanquished, the greater the virtue which the victor reaps from his conquest. It is precisely the same with ourselves--the more ferocious the beast, the more daring the deed. The Jivaro tells with pride of the conflict, entering into all its gory details, and then produces the head as indisputable proof of his prowess. We, on our part, point to the head of a tiger, relate the story of the hunt and glory in the combat; our self-satisfaction being in proportion to the difficulties of the chase and the risks run. This is likewise true of the Indian. He never preserves the head of an Aguti, neither do we consider a rabbit's furry scalp worth bragging about."

20: Dyott--188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727

"For our entertainment, Kuashu displayed a basketful of trophies which he had collected at one time or another. Amongst them we noticed a couple of reduced heads, one of a sloth, the other that of a man. Our curiosity was aroused, and we asked many questions as to how he came by them and what object he had in preserving them.

I never see one of these grim tokens of war without wishing that the custom could be introduced into our own country, if only for a short time. I know so many people whose heads I should like to display in a shrivelled state in my hall. After all, we bring back tigers' heads from India, so why not human heads from Europe? There is really no difference, so far as I can see."

20: Dyott--189-190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The taking of a human head, or tzantza, as the Jivaros call it, is with them in the nature of a religious rite, and the ceremony following the victory is sometimes described as rather involved. Personally, I have never been able to get to the bottom of all these stories, for so many statements have appeared in print which do not tally with my personal observations. I am inclined to think that the various rites connected with custom differ considerably in different parts of the country, but one main feature seems to stand out, and that is an Indian's memory is of short duration, and the killing of an adversary might easily be forgotten or even doubted by others interested in the killing. The shrunken head, therefore, remains as tangible proof that the man is dead and out of harm's way, while a certain amount of kudos and spiritual benefit comes to the doer of the deed. I believe I am right in saying that it is only the heads of enemy tribesmen that are taken and shrunken into diminutive form.

My observations lead me to the conclusion that women's heads are never preserved. There would be no virtue in slaying a woman. The women never fight unless absolutely driven to it in defence of their home. Even then, the impulse is always to flee to the jungle, out of harm's way, or else to summon assistance from some neighbouring family. The idea that women's heads are shrunken has probably its origin in the fact that tzantzas have long hair like women, but it must be remembered that the Jivaro warrior lets his hair grow long, longer even than that of his women folk, for, like

20: Dyott--189-190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 727

Samson of old, he derives strength from so doing. To him, the hair is the seat of all vital [190] energy, and supernatural properties are ascribed to it. In the process of head-shrinking, the hair retains its original length and therefore, by comparison, looks longer than it did on the original man."

20: Dyott--191-192 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727

"We were all astir the next morning at an early hour, and before the sun made its appearance the warriors came home. They shouted out their tidings of victory as they approached the house, and we were soon listening to all the details of the encounter. Everything had worked perfectly. The victim had walked into the trap, and Mihanda had finished him off with one spear-thrust. Not a trace of the combat remained behind. The body had been immediately cast into the swiftly flowing stream, where the chances of its being found were very remote. In this way one more [192] Indian 'met with an accident,' and the Jivaro sense of justice was satisfied. 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' is their motto, and they adhere strictly to the principle. On no account are two men killed to avenge the death of one. The Jivaro is at any rate just in his dealings.

Kuashu embarked upon a long discourse as to the many benefits his son would derive from performing the sacred duty entrusted to him. 'Now that the spirit of your father's brother has been satisfied,' he said, 'your influence will become great amongst your fellow men. Your yuca will bear fruitful crops, your bananas will produce abundantly, and your family will increase and prosper.'

Secouta looked with pride at her husband, a happy smile illuminating her usually expressionless face. Mihanda seemed to pay little heed to his father's oration or his wife's looks of approval. He took a large bowl of nija-manchi that was handed him, drained it, spat on the floor, and then casually scraped the blood off the end of his spear."

21: Davar--359 (2) (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"I refer to the custom among the 'Jivaro' Indians of making a ghastly trophy out of the heads of their decapitated enemy, by treating it to a process which causes the head to shrink to less than one-third of its original size. The martial ambition of the Jivaro Indian is not satisfied with merely slaying his enemy and recording his victory by adding a feather to his cap. He goes a step further and wants to preserve a concrete record of his victory in the shape of the shrunken head of his unfortunate victim."

21: Davar--360 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 727, 157

"To have strayed into the regions inhabited by these primitive occupants of the Amazon basin was no small piece of good fortune for us. I was counting upon securing a shrunken head or two by way of an interesting trophy and to witness, if chance permitted, the ceremony, or learn from the natives the secrets of this curious process which is as much a mystery to the civilised world, as the mumifying process used by the Egyptians to preserve the mortal remains of their dead.

But the Jivaro Indian cannot be induced to part with his secrets at any cost. He is extremely tenacious in holding to silence as regards this process, and guards his secrets as he would his life. Because of this, no explorer or traveller of the civilized world has, as far as I know, managed to learn the details of process, and notwithstanding the assertions of Dr. Rafael Karstein to the contrary, I seriously doubt if there is a single living being in the civilised world, who knows exactly what these shrinking ingredients consist of."

21: Davar--360-361 (no date) 1934 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"....I was not totally unfortunate in this respect. I did manage to procure a couple of these dwarfed heads and was even able to witness partially the ceremony which accompanies this dwarfing process. 'Ceremony' is not at all the wrong expression to use in this connection, for to the Jivaro Indian, this process has a touching religious significance. After all my efforts at collecting facts, I am in a position to give a brief account of this head-shrinking process. [361]

In the first place the head is severed from the trunk, well down on the neck. The skin is then cut open from the hair-line on the fore-head, and along it, right down to the back of the head and neck. After this gruesome process is over, the flesh is stripped from the cranial bone. Next the whole cranial skeleton is removed, and the first stage of the process closes here. As the cranium bone is no more of use, it is either buried or thrown away. But not unoften, it is hoisted on a pole, and used to decorate the owner's hut or 'bohio'.

....As soon as the hard cranium is got rid of, the skin is filled with hot sands and pebbles. It is stitched up with cord and parboiled in a vegetable pickle, whose contents are known only to the Jivaro Indians. After parboiling, the head is removed and again filled with hot sand and pebbles, but this time the neck is closed up with grass. The next move is to roll the head in a bejuco bag containing more of hot sand and pebbles. From time to time it is taken out and allowed to remain for a period--about two hours--

21: Davar--360-361 (no date) 1934 Jivaro-2
116, 727

in a cold pickling solution. The rolling motion, combined with patting the head with hands, constitutes the chief part of the shrinking process. When finally the head emerges out of the process, it has shrunk to a size about three inches in length and two in breadth--a dwarfed piece of human anatomy, a miniature likeness of the wretched victim."

22: Hamy--391-392 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"We have said that the ethnographic documents, as limited as they are, confirm the viewpoint just presented. The information of this type, whose [392] value should not be exaggerated, have, for a comparative study of human groups, a great importance. As regards South America in particular, they have such characteristic usages, such special customs, mores so peculiar to certain races, that when they are met even among distant peoples who preserve no memory of their common origin, one is almost justified in placing them in the same ethnic group.

Among these characteristics, there is one which we are going to describe in the Jivaro, and which is common to almost all the Guaranis: it is that which consists of the fabrication, with the aid of processes yet little known, of these hideous preserved heads, which we are beginning to see in certain number in our European ethnographic museums. From Para and Cumana to the Cordillera, all the Guarani savages make with the chief of the vanquished enemies trophies ornamented with plumes, with bird skins, etc., and which do not differ from each other except in the details of preparation.

Cajas, Mauhès, Mondurucus, Gentios Bravos, etc..., preserve in their own manner, the souvenir of their victories. And these are the spoils of a hostile general prepared in a slightly different manner by the Jivaros who have contributed the most to making known this fierce Indian family."

22: Hamy--392-393 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"Already in the last century, Manuel Sobreviela has remarked that the savages which he just visited in eastern Peru 'boil the head of their enemies. They then remove the skin, which they stuff and dry with smoke to form a masque. The teeth they use to make necklaces, and they suspend the skulls from the roof of their dwellings.'

He added that on a certain day they celebrated the tribal victories with the greatest pomp in the house of the chief, and that the boys come to the feast carrying by the hair the masques he mentioned....[393]

These are the masques, or rather the skins of the face and cranium separated from the bones which they recover, which, transported to Europe, have principally attracted the attention of ethnographers to the Indians, heretofore ignored, of Marañon. Father Pozzi tells us that a head similar to those we are going to describe was sold in Paris for a curiosity at the enormous price of 1,500 francs, some 8 years ago...."

22: Hamy--393 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"The heads prepared by the Jivaro are today less rare and less sought after: our collections include up to three specimens, and two others have been brought to our attention in England. The first sent in 1861 by Mr. Cassola to Mr. W. Bollaert, is briefly described in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London...; it comes from a hut on the banks of the Pastassa, and it is supposed that it is the head of an enemy chief, 'carried as a talisman in combat.' The skin [teguments] detached from the bones form a small head which appears to be reduced to a quarter of its original volume. A cord is fixed at the top of the head; another passed through the perforated lips and hangs in front. The ears are pierced and the nostrils filled with a black resin. Mr. R. Owen has proffered the opinion that it is the tanning of the skin which caused the reduction in volume. Mr. Bollaert believes it is dried before the fire over a clay mold.

A second sample of the taxidermic industry of the Jivaros, described by Mr. Barriero..., was exhibited at the universal Exposition of London in 1862, the gift of R. de Silva Ferro; it came from a tribe which Mr. Barriero named Tambo or Tumba. Mr. Barriero has furnished, concerning this piece, interesting details of the drying agent (a store heated in the fire and introduced into the skin of the head), on the triumphal feast, on the superstitions attached to the possession of this type of trophy or chancha, transformed, says the author, into an idol, an oracle, a talisman when it comes from a warrion renowned for his bravery."

22: Hamy--394 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The details collected by Mr. Barriero were yet unpublished when a third head was offered on April 17, 1862 to the Society of Anthropology by Mr. Moreno Maiz, who held it from Mr. Galvez, Minister of Peru at Paris.... This specimen, found in an ancient Jivaro tomb, led Mr. Moreno Maiz, contrary to the opinion of the historians of the country and of Sobreviela in particular, to believe that it could be a relic of an individual of the tribe, preserved for religious reasons. Certain texts of Herrera, which he could have cited, support this viewpoint, opposed, one can see to that of Mr. Barriero.

The sojourn of the specimen in a tomb had, however, partially damaged it. A loss of substance near the right temple, a deep depression in the corresponding region on the left side, several tears, all that combined with the small volume of the head (horizontal circumference 21 to 22 centimeters; cephalic measurement [cranio-sus-auriculaire] 15 centimeters) leads one to believe that we do not have a specimen comprising all the cephalic teguments, and one is left only with the discussion of the mumification procedures which the Ethnological Society of London has not yet made known, and the study of several of the external characters revealed by this ethnographic curiosity. Long, black hairs, 35 to 38 centimeters in length, mixed with several brown hairs, or red shading sometimes to blonde, eyebrows still very apparent and appearing to have been thick, no trace of beard: such were the only physical characteristics which could be conscienciously used. One cannot distinguish eyelids; the skin, thick and black like wax has retained none of

22: Hamy--394 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 727

its original aspect; the nose and chin were deformed; the two lips, thrust forward, revealed three large holes; all the face was flattened sideways and the corresponding fluting having certainly contained cords formed a ligature; the ears were partially destroyed, but one could see in a lobe on one side the trace of a hole intended for some decorative ornament. A double hole for suspension perforated the vertex..."

22: Hamy--394-395 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"A fourth head sent from Ecuador to the Museum in 1864 [395] by Mr. Fabre, consul general..., has shown that, contrary to an opinion given out following the communication of Mr. Moreno Maiz, these shrunken heads are certainly complete and that their small volume is attributable solely to the skillful process employed by the Jivaro.

Mr. Fabre received this specimen from the province of Macas, and from the nieghborhood of the volcano Sangai; it was the work of the Jivaro or Zibaro, named Jambas. Like the previous ones it is an adult head, extremely shrunken, since they measure only 9 centimeters and a half in length by 7 in width, the horizontal circumference is 26 millimeters and its sub-auricular transverse curve does not reach 17. It has long hair over 40 centimeters, generally very black, mixed however, like the preceding head, with a small number of brown or red hairs. The face, flattened laterally, is thrust forward on all sides toward the mouth, tied this time, like that of the previously mentioned photograph by a triple cord fixed on three holes pierced vertically in the thick part of the two lips, and which carries a long fringe formed of 36 strings of unbleached cotton of various thicknesses.

The eyebrows, very black, are rather long and well planted; there is no beard whatsoever; the skin is a veritable black and glistening leather. The palpebral creases are stripped of hair; the nose, deformed as in the preceding specimen, has large open nostrils, with a hole pierced in the membrane dividing them. Another hole penetrates perpendicularly in the sub-membrane, at the beginning of the upper lip. The ears, shrunken

22: Hamy--394-395 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 727

like the rest of the skin segments [teguments] appear to have been naturally small, and their lobe not deformed is wide open. Finally two orifices pierced in the vertex serve to pass a string destined to suspend the hideous little head.

The existence of these holes for suspension, as well as the presence of the fringes fixed to the mouth which one finds on the trophies of war of the Guarani, have persuaded us for a long time to consider them as veritable spoils of a hostile general, to which are attached certain superstitious ideas, these specimens for which Mr. Moreno Maiz has proposed another interpretation, when the documents of Father Louis Pozzi arrived at the Museum, thanks to the initiative of one of the procurers of the missions of the Jesuit order, Father Tailhan."

22: Hamy--396 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"It appears from the letters of Father Pozzi that the heads prepared by the Jivaro are, like all the warlike tribes of the Amazon, veritable trophies. 'They allow their hair to grow, says the missionary, and they make with it a long tress to which they attach the plumage of a bird killed by them. When they go to war, and also during solemn fetes, they hang on this tress the heads of the enemies killed by their hand.' In support of this opinion, Mr. Pozzi has sent one of these heads accompanied by the skin of the birds which decorate it. He had secured without too much difficulty all this ornamental equipment from the hair of a neophyte of his mission of Gualaquisa, brought gently by the missionary to renounce this barbarous custom.

The anterior-posterior diameter of this head of Gualaquisa, which does not differ from that of the Jamba except that its volume is a little less and in other minor details, being 83 millimeters. Its maximum transverse diameter is 60; the horizontal circumference is 25 centimeters; the sub-auricular transverse curve is 15 centimeters and a half. But a specimen annexed by Father Pozzi from his interesting envoy permits us to understand in a fairly exact manner the reduction achieved by the taxidermic process. We possess in effect, the crown of woven straw, ornamented with black, red and yellow feathers which the young warrior wore whose head figured among the ornaments of the neophyte of Gualaquisa. And the entire circumference is a little more than 56 centimeters; if we compare this figure with that of the measure of the circumference of the trophy, we see that this curve is diminished in the ratio 56 to 100."

22: Hamy--396-397 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"We have said that the Gualaquisa specimen differs a little from that of the Jamba. The hair, very long is 65 centimeters and recalls the memory of the Indios Pelados of whom the earliest Spanish explorers spike; the skin is a tawny brown; several large hairs are apparent in the nasal cavity; the eyebrows are longer and thicker; long black lashes garnish the eyelids, closed with the aid of a large stitch visible at the internal angle of the fold. The victim has this time a little beard, which forms a small mustache and a very small goatee [barbiche]. It is exactly what Mr. Marcoy notes among the natives of Ucayali, and that Barrow has seen formerly among the Guaranis of Brazil.

The mode of suspension is identical to the preceding specimen; the same holes... etc. And the [397] spoils fixed, as has been said, to the hair of the conqueror, is ornamented with the skins of 3 magnificent humming-birds [oiseaux-mouches].

The study of this curious trophy, the exact notion which we possess on its origin destroys definitively the hypothesis of Mr. Moreno Maiz, and furnishes, as we have already said, arguments of considerable strength in favor of assimilation of the Jivaros with the Guarani race..."

23: Turner--57 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 727, 435

"The macabre nature of the shrunken head trophies (*tsantsas*) of the Jibaro Indians has long assured them a ready sale to curio-hunters. As Stirling ~~has~~ pointed out in a valuable paper,(1) this demand has given rise to a considerable business in the manufacture of counterfeit *tsantsas*, with the result that a large proportion of the specimens in private (and some public) collections are in fact the heads of unclaimed dead from hospitals and pauper asylums prepared by taxidermists. The laws of Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil prohibit the export of *tsantsas*, but numbers are surreptitiously hawked to tourists along the Pacific coast from the Panama Canal southwards. The prices asked may range from £2 to £10 or more, according to the estimated means of the customer. While some of these may be authentic, the majority certainly are not."

"1. Stirling, M. W., *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians.* Bureau of American Ethnology: Bulletin 117. Washington, 1938. Cf. also Rivet, P., 'A propos 'de Tsantsa,' *Journ. Soc. Américanistes de Paris,* N.S. 24, 1932, pp. 213-14."

23: Turner--57 (No date) 1944 Jivaro-1
116, 727

'The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, possesses two such forgeries, purchased in Ecuador and presented in 1936. One of these has now been placed on exhibition alongside the genuine tsantsas, with a label drawing attention to the features which mark it as false. Most of these features are apparent in Pl. C (fig. 1), which also shows an authentic Jibaro specimen (fig. 2) for purposes of comparison.

In the counterfeit tsantsa:

(a) the head is less thoroughly shrunk, the integument being consequently not so thick and continuing to exude a certain amount of oil;
(b) although slight prognathous distortion is present it is not sufficient to give the characteristic snout-like appearance seen in fig. 2; further, the dome of the head is high (reaching well above the upper edge of the head-band) instead of low and elongated, and the usual depressions in the region of the temples are lacking
(c) the lips show no signs of perforation by the chonta-wood pins used by the Jibaro during the shrinking, and are sewn with light threads in place of the normal heavy fringe of cotton string;
(d) the top of the head is not pierced for the suspending cord;
(e) the posterior median incision is carried much farther forward over the crown of the head than is done in authentic specimens;

23: Turner--57 (No date) 1944 Jivaro-2
116, 727

(f) the lobes of the ears are not pierced, as is done by Jibaros of both sexes early in life; instead, bone ornaments have been thrust through the rims of the ears, which does not accord with Jibaro practice;
(g) the facial down has not been singed off, nor the skin polished (the shiny surface being due to grease);
(h) the feathered head-band of beaten palm-bark is of a type not worn by living Jibaros, nor are genuine tsantsas ever provided with any kind of headgear;
(i) the hair is of finer texture than in most Indian specimens; it is less abundant and the short side-locks affected by most Jibaros are absent.

It is realized that the last detail is not definitive in that the Jibaros may still occasionally take heads from non-Indian victims (Stirling mentions a successful attack on a settlement in 1925), but considered in relation to the other foregoing points of variation it may be taken as strengthening the assumption that the head is that of a female European or mestiza hospital casualty. As final confirmation it may be added that part of a Quito newspaper of 1936 was found wadded into the crown in a manner suggesting that it was used to preserve the shape during reduction."

23: Turner--57-58 (No date) 1944 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The second counterfeit in the Pitt Rivers collections is nearly identical in form and decoration with that illustrated, but is further adorned with two long pendants of the elytra of the beetle Mallaspis antennatus, tipped with feathers and human hair. Similar pendants are frequently hung from the ear-lobes of genuine tsantsas (see fig. 2) but in this specimen they are attached to the back of the head-band.

The above-mentioned particulars correspond closely with the criteria given by Stirling for distinguishing spurious from genuine tsantsas. The same author suggests examination of the stitching of the posterior incision which makes possible the removal of the skin from the skull. The professional taxidermist with his superior equipment tends to make a rather neater seam than is usually to be found in the Indian article,[58]although this is not invariably the case. It should be added that the work of some counterfeiters is a good deal harder to detect than are the two examples described above.

Not all non-genuine tsantsas have been made for commercial purposes. Rivet (2)

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2. Rivet, P., 'Les Indiens Jibaros.' L'Anthropologie, XVIII-XIX. Paris, 1907-8. (Chapter entitled 'Têtes 'Momifiées ou Tsantsas,' Vol. XIX, pp 69-87)."

23: Turner--57-58 (No date) 1944 Jivaro-2
116, 727

illustrates a passable counterfeit made by an Ecuadorean medical student, and in 1893 an Austrian doctor named Hein (3) described four which he had prepared from the heads of deceased patients. In both these cases the motive was to test the technique of reduction as reported by travellers. Hein's attempt to shrink a fifth head by drying in the sun failed completely."

'3. Hein, Wilhelm, 'Die Kopftrophäen der Jívaros.' *Mitth. Anthrop. Ges. Wien*, XXIII. Sitzungsberichte, p. 28. Vienna, 1893."

23: Turner--58 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116,-727, 602

"Mummified animal heads, usually of monkeys or sloths, are sometimes seen in collections. Of these the sloth heads are likely to be genuine. The Jibaros are elaborately careful not to take the head of a victim who is related to the slayer, however long adopted into the enemy band. In such cases, as also when a vigorous resistance prevents the securing of an unrelated victim's head, the slayer may at some later date take the head of a sloth (*Choloepus didactylus*) and prepare a token trophy, called *uñushi.* Generally similar ritual procedure accompanies the preparation of the *uñushi.* Finished trophies display the lip-fringe and suspending cord seen in *tsantsas*, but the degree of reduction is proportionally less. Some other animals may be similarly treated when one of their number is supposed to have caused the death of a Jibaro.

Stirling persuaded a Yaupe Jibaro to reduce the head of a monkey, but this was done without ritual and simply as a demonstration of the shrinking technique. Preserved monkeys' heads seen by the writer have certain features in common with the counterfeit *tsantsas* and it is to be doubted whether they are of Jibaro origin. Even where this should be the case they probably represent nothing more than purely commercial examples of Indian taxidermy."

23: Turner--58 [2] (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 114, 727

"Since the foregoing was sent to press, [KS: Counterfeit 'Tsantsas" in the Pitt Rivers Museum] Mr. Stirling has drawn my attention to a journalist's account of a domestic workshop on the outskirts of Quito where 'shrunken heads' are made in quantity from goat- and dog-skin shaped over clay moulds and shaved in the appropriate places. One diagnostic feature of these counterfeits is that the hairs of both eyebrows necessarily run in the same direction. (Ludwig Bemelmans, 'The Head-Hunters of the Quito Hills.' The New Yorker, April 12, 1941. New York.)"

25: Vigna--47[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 727

Once the enemy is overcome, they quickly return to the houses where they drink chicha in abundance. If vengeance is complete, the victim will lose his head under the knife of the avenger. This trophy is carried with great huzza to the house of the hero; the women will then empty out the cranium and reduce it to the size of a fist; the mouth is sewn with thick hemp. When the head, which is called "Tzantza" is thoroughly dry, great feasts are arranged for a not too distant period in honor of the hero. Friends and acquaintances from distant regions are invited to this fiesta, and eating and drinking goes on for whole days.

It is noteworthy that the old men who are not able to participate in these reprisals, encourage and cheer the young to proceed with valor and ardor in vengeance.

26: Brüning--72-73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

When, on July 2nd, the rise of the Marañón forced us to stay a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez, we were able to make the return voyage through the Pongi de Manseriche not earlier than July 10th, 1902. In the middle of this Pongo we met with a family of Aguaruna Indians, a man, two young girls, an elderly woman with an infant, two older children, and the unavoidable dogs. We could see that they had gone hungry. They had been without food for eight days, since the River had carried off their canoe while they had made an overnight stop. A second canoe with other members of the party had continued the voyage and was prevented from returning by the strong currents.

An Augustine monk, who was in our party, told us that these Indians had moved to Barranca about a year ago. During their stay there one Huambisa Indian woman, a prisoner of an earlier raid, had escaped. The Indians whom we met in the Pongo participated in an [73] expedition to recover this woman, though they had not succeeded in this. Thereupon they raided the first house they could find, killed the father and abducted the young girl, who was about 10 - 12 years old. (She was one of the young girls whom we saw in their party.) The Indian who had killed her father now was to become the husband of the daughter. She had evidently become accustomed to the idea and regarded it as the natural thing. While we were carrying our canoe for a stretch over land --the rapids were too strong here--, the second Indian canoe arrived in order to rescue the shipwrecked family members.

26: Brüning--73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

The cut-off heads of the enemies are reduced in the following manner: the skin in the rear of the head is cut open, and the skull is removed so that only the skin and the flesh of the face remain. The latter is mounted on a stone, somewhat larger than a fist, and hung in smoke so that all soft parts can shrink gradually. Finally, the stone is removed, the skin is stitched together in the rear, and the lips are contracted with a piece of string. Then, in order to dry it completely, the head is once more subjected to the smoking process. In this manner the head in the end is not larger than a fist, and the face looks like that of a monkey. The hair is kept at full length. A bundle of colored strings is fastened between the lips.

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 539, 727

"On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador...

TRANSLATION

To the Secretary of the Spanish Legation, Quito.

Ecuador, Macas, 2nd Dec. 1860.

Sir, ---I received your letter of the 15th of August, in which you request information about the idol head of the Jívaros; how I obtained it, and how it had been prepared by them. What I now communicate to you, is the result of more than two years research.

A Jívaro of the Tambos tribe was baptized, when he undertook the commission to procure one of these idols; however, the first year he was unsuccessful. The following year he put the following plan into execution. He made a Jívaro believe that his idol wished to travel a little, for being in a sort of imprisonment, it would do nothing for its owner, suggesting that the idol should be handed over to him so as to make a trial. The baptized Indian brought it to me, returning with many presents to the owner, who then went on a hunting expedition, which turned out well. The fame of such success may facilitate the journeying of more of these idols.

After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims [the skull and its contents of course being removed--W. B.], a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process.

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jivaro-2
116, 539, 727

When the head is prepared, the *tundui* or war drum is sounded; this calls the tribe together for the feast of triumph, which has to be celebrated before nine days have passed since the fight, otherwise the spirits of those (of their party) who had fallen would not be satisfied, neither could the head be deified. On the tenth day the feast begins; the Jívaro who has an idol head suspends it with those of others on an upright pole in the centre of a habitation, the idol head of the feast having a prominent position. The invited are dressed in all their finery, the females especially. They seat themselves far or near from the idols according to their rank in the tribe. [113]

When they have feasted, the priest takes the head of the victim, and holding it up by a string, makes a long speech, eulogizing the feats of arms the owner of the head had done in his lifetime, the valour he showed at his death, the fame of his ancestors, that it was worthy of adoration, etc., etc., concluding with certain gesticulations. After a brief silence the priest utters a piercing cry, when all rise on their feet, making a loud noise.

The head is again tied to the pole, when they all take their seats, excepting the victor; he remains near the head armed with a lance, and abuses the head roundly, to which the head is made to reply in similar terms, the anger increasing on both sides to its utmost extent; the priest being the spokesman for the head or *chancha*, who concludes

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-3
116, 539, 727

his part shouting in the name of the head, 'Coward! when I was in life thou didst not dare to insult me thus, thou didst tremble at the sound of my name, coward! Some brother of mine will revenge me.' The Jívaro has been unable to support this speech against his bravery, and raising his lance he strikes and wounds the head of his enemy in the face; after which he sews the mouth up, and thus condemns his idol to eternal silence. From this moment the idol is speechless, excepting as an oracle, questions being put to it when the inquirer is under the spell of some strong narcotic.

Now commences the dance. The victor suspends the idol (on a pole) in the open air, and the female he most esteems follows him to perform this act. This is the greatest honour that can be conferred on a Jivaro. She holds on to the waist of the victor, all the men joining in a similar manner, forming a chain. The women dance apart. Each plays upon some musical instrument or other, wildly singing the song of triumph. They go on dancing round the interior of the habitation, with short intermissions, for two, three, or more days.

The Jívaro who may have given the victim the second wound, after a year of severe fasting, repeats the scenes of the first feast (excepting the first part of the ceremony); and if three or more have assisted, they have successively their feasts.

It sometimes happens that, being hard pressed by the enemy, they have not the time or opportunity to cut off the head of a fallen foe; in this case, the ceremony is performed upon the head of a sow, which is adored as if it were an idol head.

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-4
116, 539, 727

When the fruits of the earth are not abundant, and their stock of domestic animals does not rapidly increase, the women commence the feast of supplication, in which they alone dance, holding on by each other, the old priest or capito carrying the idol. If the head does not work a miracle, the hair is shaved off, and the head thrown into the woods.

The preceding is what has appeared to me the most interesting [114] of the savage customs of the infidels inhabiting our eastern Cordilleras. I may, however, add that, of those they kill in battle, they do not make idols of all, but only of such who have shown themselves most brave; from these they tear out the heart, and the extracted brains they eat. This custom is common among the tribes of the Tumbas, Mendes, Pastaza, Jurumbaini, Tutamagosa, Chiguavida, Achmiles, Guambinima, Guambisa, Huamboga, etc., as well as the inhabitants lower down; also by those on the Morona, with this difference, that those of the Morona are really cannibals.

(Signed) José Felix Barriero.
General Secretariat of the Provincial
Government,
Quito, 2nd January, 1861.

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-5
116, 539, 727

The above signature and rubric are those of the present political chief of Macas.

(Signed) R. de Anambi.
Spanish Legation to Ecuador.

The above signature and rubric are authentic, and as used by the Secretary-General of the Government of Ecuador.

The Chargé d' Affairs of H. M. C. M.
(Signed) C. de Sanquericio y Ayua.

The preceding has been translated by the undersigned.

Wm. Bollaert.

London, January 15th, 1862.

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro
116, 727, 777

"In June 1861, Professor Cassola, on his way from Ecuador to Italy, showed me in London, in all probability, the first specimen from the Jívaro country of the peculiarly reduced cutis of the idol head. It was reduced to about one-fourth the natural size, preserving somewhat of the features. All the bone had been removed, only the skin and hair remaining. Of this head Professor Cassola told me, that a party exploring the river Pastasa observed it in a small temple, and at night stole it. It was supposed to be the head of a hostile chief, and was worn in battle as a charm.

A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mould of clay."

28: Tessman--355-356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727

Much has been written about their war trophies, the mummified human heads. See Category 727. The most complete and the most reliable information on this subject is in Karsten in his Blood Revenge, where he also discusses [356] the preparation of these heads and the ceremonies connected with them. The Chiwaros have also heads of sloths which are preserved in a similar manner. See Plate 63.

28: Tessman--359 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

Aside from human tsantsa there are also the mummified heads of sloths. See Plate 63. Karsten (Blood Revenge, p. 33) explains this custom by assuming that at a time when all humans were animals, the sloths had been the enemies of the Chiwaros. Rivet, however, points out (loc. cit., p. 86) that the mummified heads of the sloths are substitutes for human heads if the latter are unobtainable. Farabee, finally, assumes that the sloth-head gives the children a chance to practice. Karsten received his explanation from the Chiwaros, and it must be taken with a grain of salt, since the sloth is a very innocent creature that does not harm other animals. I incline to the belief that, while certain practical considerations may play a part, the sloth must have a certain significance in the Chiwaro religion.

29: Vité--16[3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 126, 727

Once precautions were taken not to offend their sensibilities, we prepared our apparatus certain of being able to gather the documentation of their characteristic and barbarous custom, the fiesta of the "tchantcha."

We were not wrong, for around the Jíbaro cabin which we reached after a fatiguing march, this fiesta, which many of the Jíbaros still practice, was in progress. As soon as the designated victim falls under the thrust of his lance, the Jíbaro cuts off the head which for him represents his most precious trophy and carries it to his house on the point of his lance.

From this moment preparations for the fiesta of the "tchantcha" begin. In the meantime the women make plans for providing a great quantity of smoked flesh of pigs, chickens, turkeys and fish, as well as chicha which is their predilect drink and which is prepared exclusively by the women; they masticate the root of the manioc and then spit it into clay vessels, leaving it to ferment several days until it is converted into a delicious drink which is very alcoholic and nutritive.

29: Vité--16-20 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The hero of the fiesta meanwhile prepares the "tchantcha"; this consists of mummifying the severed head of the enemy, and, after a series of manipulations known only to them, to convert it into a little head, which although reduced a tenth of its normal proportions through the removal of the bones, preserves its primitive features perfectly and marvelously.

First they wash the head, and sew [20] the lips using a fiber strung on a thorn; then they place the head in a bowl of boiling water in which they have cooked beforehand leaves of various plants that grow in places only they know. The head remains for less than two minutes in the boiling water and emits a penetrating and very disagreeable odor.

Then an expert begins the operation of extracting the tongue and the muscles and the flesh around it. He carefully extracts all the bones, making use of knives of different shapes and sizes, while at the same time pulling the skin outward.

Next they fill the head, which has been stripped of bones, with a pap made with the soft part of certain roots, taking care that the contours of the skin retain their form. Finally they place the head, thus prepared, in a bowl with a kind of boiling oil made with seeds of other plants. After this proceeding, the head is reduced to a tenth of its natural size and mummified in an astonishing manner.

29: Vité--20-22 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 126, 727

The expedition witnessed the fiesta as a privilege, for no stranger has ever been admitted to it. It was viewed from a height and the filming apparatus was disguised so that the savages would not suspect the true object of our presence. And so we were present at the fanatic exaltation of the hero, who, seated in the middle of a circle formed by relatives and friends, has in his hand the "tchantcha" and the homicidal lance. Children are excluded from this circle, but the women take part.

After the witch in ceremonial dress has purified the soul of the killer by his exorcisms [22] the orgy commences. It lasts several days and at times for weeks until the provisions prepared for the fiesta are gone.

29: Vité--22 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 609

While the frenetic dance continued and the piercing and rending shouts of the savages reverberated in the air to the mournful sound of the "dúndulos," we decided to retire, for given their great xenophobia, it would not have been strange for these Indians to have been overcome by a sudden access of fury against us,--profane spectators of their fiesta.

We withdrew cautiously and readied for any emergency, by no means at peace with the echo of the "dúndulos" which made it clear that the orgy of blood followed its normal rhythm,--a sign that the Jíbaros have not preoccupied themselves with us.

In the dead of night, we arrived exhausted at the most interior of the Salesian missions where we were received fraternally and surrounded with affectionate attentions.

30: Franco--140 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 171

"These reductions [KS: mummified heads] are one of the mysteries and secrets of our Indians and another of the coincidences of this race with the mummifiers of the other East. There is no one who does not marvel at this art of the forest dwellers. Our Jíbaros have the fame and "beat the record" of mummifiers; however they are not the only tribes who practive it in America.

30: Franco--140-141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 764

The making of the tzhantzha is not only for vengeance or for trophy; it appears to have something of a religious nature through the rites that precede its preparation from the severing of the enemy's head to its complete desiccation, and in the other solemn and festive ceremonies which follow in the especially named 'fiesta of the Tzhantzhas.' They are certainly trophies of war, but they are not limited to this. There are tzhantzhas and even entire bodies that are mummified of whites and of blacks. God knows what unfortunate adventurers, explorers, missionaries or rubber workers fell the victim of some imprudence of aggression or sexual assault toward some Indian woman, since the savage is atrociously suspicious and vengeful not only toward his fellow creatures but even more so toward the intruders of his forest. The Museum of the 'Heye Foundation' of New York, as well as tzhantazhas, possesses two rare examples of entire bodies: one of a Negro and another of a white with heavy beard of a Spanish or Austrian or Italian type; and, likewise, the head of an aged white man with thick [141] curly and gray hair. The entire bodies of the two have been reduced and preserved in admirable proportions to their size, being dolls of some 70 to 75 cms. Only the hands are a little large in proportion to the new body and the feet are a little deformed by the flexion of the toes upward.

30: Franco--141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro-1
116, 727

Our Museum possesses two well made tzhantzhas, one of a man and one of a woman, still a girl, both natives. Unfortunately the second has begun to decompose and is somewhat worm eaten, but our constant care appears to have arrested the process. Probably the haste in the acquisition, or the concealment to which these species of contraband are exposed produced a counteraction to mummification which ordinarily would not have happened in the hands of the macabre artificer. What is very mysterious is the proportion in which the hair, the eyebrows and eyelashes and all parts covered with hair remain. It is not understandable how the hair can also be reduced in quantity and length in proportion to the new diminutive dimensions. It is all very well that the skin despoiled of all boney armature contracts gradually, and by means of the manipulations preserves its smoothness and form. But we have no explanation for the fact that a perimeter of 60 cms. of hair, for example, on being reduced to ten and crowding the pores, does not make motley disproportionate brushes of the hair, eyebrows and eyelashes on the compressed skin. Some say that the preparers pull the hair proportionately during the process. We do not believe this, because the eyebrows and eyelashes refute the staiement. How is it, that the hairs of the eyebrows and eyelashes from 5 to 7 mm, for example are reduced not only to the proportional number of eyebrows of a new born, but, what is more admirable, at lengths of 2 or more mm only and the thickness of down of a child--

30: Franco--141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro-2
116, 727

likewise of the down of the beard, of the length of the hair itself, of the down of the nasal fossae, or wherever it may be? Mysteries... ..

30: Franco--141 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The appearance remains unaltered. There have been cases of immediate recognition in the tzhantzha of the person to whose cranium it belonged. A North American gentleman told us in the Museum this anecdote: 'A traveler succeeded in obtaining a tzhantzha and it turned out to be that of a white man. In the midst of the horror this unhappy sight produced in him, he was tempted to smile when they asked a large sum for it.

'I knew this man, he said. He was a Yankee çarrilano, evil beyond imagination, a scoundrel for whom the penitentiaries would perhaps have given a good sum to carry to the electric chair. After one of his last infamies, he fled, and to be sure, flight and conscience drove him to the Eastern forests of Ecuador. Who knows whether he may not have accomplished there another of his deeds, or have died of hunger or by the arrow, but this is without doubt his head. Poor man....he was worth nothing in life, but is now valuable as a museum piece. The savages have given his head a value it did not have while he was living.'

30: Franco--141 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The head of the man that we have here appears to be of an elderly person for there are some gray hairs. He may not be a Jíbaro, but may belong to some other less cleanly tribe, for, in his hair, one can see great quantities of louse eggs and larvae which are also mummified, the poor things. The head of the female leads itself to reflection and detracts somewhat from the affirmation that the tzhantzhas were exclusively trophies of war, that is unless the ferocious warrier had carried his vengenace so far as to kill the wife of the vanquished; or perhaps it is the head of an adulteress punished with death. Ours is a girl of 12 to 14 years in appearance; it is well known that the marriages between these tribes are very premature. Because business-- now understood by the Indians in regard to the barter of guns, machetes and other weapons that the foreigners offer them--has whetted their natural malignity and made them lose respect for their natural dead, they avail themselves also of these heads in order not to have to await the late and dangerous event of a victory over their enemy, or the adultery of one of their odalisks.

30: Franco--141 [4] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The tzhantzha has an almost black or deep reddish-ochre color perhaps because of desiccation at the fire, perhaps because, as some say, their preparers as a last touch give them an unction of pulverized charcoal. The masculine tzhantzha of this Museum is elegantly adorned with a crown of diminutive feathers of pretty colors embedded in a band of very fine skin of some small rodent. They have placed some attractive little earrings of colorful feathers in the ears and at the neck a tiny necklace of beads. That of the woman does not have any decoration. The large perforations which the Jíbaros make in order to insert the little rods of bamboo or cuyel as earrings are not observable in the ears nor is the perforation in the lower lip of the woman, for the same purpose, observable here. The perforations in the lobes of the ears appear to have been almost as small as those of civilized women. This may be one proof more that the victims were not members of the Jíbaro tribe.

Through a white mountaineer, we have had the opportunity to see the reduced heads of cats, sloths, and other animals without horns, for those with horns do not lend themselves to reduction because of the irreducibility of these weapons.

30: Franco--141 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 778

The tzhantzha, we have said, fulfills a religious purpose; although its precise meaning is very difficult to interpret. The tzhantzha is a fetish that guarantees abundance, fertility, good fortune of the kindred and tribe, victory over enemies and evil to its owner, his family and friends; it bestows immortality, and serves as oracle to whomever interrogates it drinking the 'natema', an overstimulating and dream-producing vegetal liquor. If in repeated instances it fails in its power, the hair is shaved off and the head is thrown in the forest or river.

30: Franco--141-142 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The 'tzhantzha-tucui' or fiesta of the tzhantzha [142] is described by our orientologists as follows: When the warrior has killed his enemy he knows that he must prepare for the celebration of the fiesta, under pain of suffering a thousand evils that fate will bring him, personally, and in house and chacra. For this reason, from the moment he severs the head until its complete desiccation, he goes through all the rites and secret ceremonies, since the deceased himself will not leave him in peace if he fails to. As soon as he arrives with the trophy, an old man specialized in these functions, gives the Jíbaro an emetic infusion of tobacco to drink; this starts a period of fast previous to the fiesta and feasts of several days. Then the owner begins a rigorous fast that sometimes lasts months and even several years and that consists in not eating sahino killed by arrow, or certain birds or other animals. He can only eat certain little birds killed by blowgun, yucca, bananas without pepper and smoked fish. He paints his body with black lines with the dye of Genipa; on his face he paints a black stripe from ear to ear, passing under his nose. He makes the sacrifice of going without his lance and abstains from sexual contact. The preparations are: to sow two or more chacras of yucca and bananas. In the course of the preparation of the field, the sowing, the gathering, etc. a year or more must pass. After the harvest the larger quantity of chicha is made; much hunting and fishing is done and the meat and fish are stored in leaves and dried in smoke. All these are provisions for the many guests and several days of festivity. The expense is so great that sometimes several relatives or friends unite to cooperate on the cost, or sometimes various owners of tzhantzhas unite to share the fiesta.

30: Franco--142 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

On the day appointed friends and neighbors come, some having made a ten days journey. They all wear their fiesta dress. As the initial rite, an ancient master of ceremonies sits down in the middle of the house. The Jíbaro enters now armed with his lance and carrying the trophy by its hair in his left hand. The old man rises, takes the tzhantzha and summerges it successively in a decoction of tobacco, in a receptacle with chicha, and in another with pure water. He makes the hero sit down and serves him these three liquids to his gratification. Thus, the fast ends and the hero is now free of all obligation to the deceased. He rises, takes his trophy and hangs it from the principal pillar of the house which is adorned with flowers, foliage, feathers, etc. etc. The old man begins to speak and launches upon a harangue in praise of the Jíbaro whom he calls 'brave and skilfull avenger of an offense' and full of insults and reproaches to the dead. When this is ended, the men take hands, form a circle around the head; at times as a very high honor the wife of the hero is admitted to this circle; then the enormous circle breaks to dance and unusual sardana inside the house, while other circles are forming outside, or the same but much extended circle enters through one door and leaves by another, encircling the house. The women also make their circles. From time to time the old man takes down the tzhantzha and hangs it on the neck of its owner, and the dancers pay homage to it on passing in front of it. All this goes on in the midst of the extravagant, shrieking clamor of the tundui, the drums, flutes and trumpets, etc.

30: Franco--142 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

Immediately following the old man distributes the provisions, and the 'piningas' filled with whitish chicha circulate. The orgy lasts for days. When the Indian is intoxicated, he withdraws, takes an emetic, bathes himself and returns stronger and fresher than before to the hubbub and the saraband. For these days the guests live at the expense of their host. On the evening of the sixth day great bowls of excellent broth, in which they have boiled ten or more fleshy hogs, are prepared. Each takes his portion and in the morning he receives a piece of raw meat as final refreshment and remembrance which he will carry to his house or take on the road.

30: Franco--142 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 555, 766

The warrior who has the greater number of trophies acquires the title 'Cocarama'. Cinctures for adornment in war and in the fiestas only are made with the hair of the tzhantzhas; and the owner never presents it or trusts it to anyone. His relatives bury him with the cincture when there is a lack of tzhantzhas; they do not keep the cincture, in this case, as a sacred remembrance of the valorous relative.

30: Franco--142 [4] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 171, 727

The custom of making tzhantzhas has not been confined to the Jíbaros. Its existence is evident in Tiahuanacu, in Pirdo, in Manab; and the conquest observed some mummified Inca kings. This proves the contact and perhaps unity of the present Jíbaros with the ancient tribes who were civilized. The puruhaes sacrificed to the Chimborazo twice a year a young and handsome Indian girl, as well as the first born; they they embalmed them and preserved them with great veneration in their houses in beautiful vases made for the purpose.

30: Franco--142 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 175, 727

Ancient chroniclers say that Huáscar had sworn to make a vessel for drinking out of Atahualpa's head, and that when Atahualpa triumphed, it was he who did so with the head of the vanquished chief. Velasco denies this, bearing in mind the delicacy and grace of Atahualpa who from an early age had been the idol of his parents and who was educated in exaggerated cleanliness and elegance. In these things Atahualpa was so demanding and lordly that he would not put his feet in their sandals of gold on the floor unless the floor was swept before him; he did not spit but in the hands of some great dame, and he only ate and drank select dishes prepared with the greatest cleanliness.

774 775 future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and [961] leaves his corpse through its mouth. If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This [882] soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill [589] instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the [729] corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three [776] [761] [825] [824] types of *iwanči* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makanči*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*papi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other [199] [412] [752] [761] cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwanči kills the murderer, it sometimes ap- 776 787 [411] pears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwanči fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again. 776 787

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[15] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa. 727 774

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: [789] [648]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

[533] [539]

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose. [439] [789]

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam [778]

827 776 778 [784] [535] [illegible] [illegible] [231] soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak's* power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

774 825 [789] *Tsantsa* feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

774 [824] [163] The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakani*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

[825] One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful tsarutama." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the *Jivaro* could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Pinhei, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the *Jivaro* proper. Karsten (1954:20) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jibaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Pinhei." Actually, *pinpuri* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the *Jivaro* use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*panki*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a *Jivaro* deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Métraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the *Jivaro* country. While on the subject of supposed *Jivaro* gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nunui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:376).

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776

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:29) is wrong when he states that the shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:36): ". . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1938:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nekàs wakanï and thus, since he uses the term wakanï alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: ". . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanï.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial *Jivaro* fieldwork in

6

/333 cont./

808 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[747] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

/334 cont. /
628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily
become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims,
all security must disappear, every individual constantly
[342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and permanent
[574] state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one
[576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at
[231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection
with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which,
628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel between
648 two families must lead to battles between whole tribes;
larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and
battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of
quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors.
Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint
war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and
plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves
a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about
[161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable
[164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by
[177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which
appear with great violence at times.

● 727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very
much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps
there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed
blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the
one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded
as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the
enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular
726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately
41 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a
714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a
man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided
with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet
long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in
a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular movement
714 of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness
and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself, each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[729] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
[431] drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

292 335 cont.

296 better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made [437] of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear [301] richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of [534] which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is [535] produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available tsantsas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

[264] When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept [534] off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to 342 decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

767 336. A house must be deserted after a death, just as 762 after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, [242] hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

728 If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important 425 decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and [776] their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful 132 spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

INTRODUCTION

101
Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 195
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to re-
conquer them: the Jivaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri šuarä* of
eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained uncon- [135]
quered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the
fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest
placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 195
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jivaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the mar- 648
kets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers [129] •
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jivaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individ-
ualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and un-
willing to be subservient to authority, even among them-
selves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordil-
lera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jivaro still unconquered
and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style.
This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jivaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

175 649 distributed in those parts, that all might become blood and fire. The fear of being destroyed by the Jibaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan, but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 648 726 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 648 727 The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations; and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jests, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone; and bursting his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man 175
escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, 648
when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in 727 •
all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding,
and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the
army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed.

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and [562]
the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest
for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of [797]
a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier,
because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were
young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had 175
been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the 648
Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, 726
leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the
booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by
one.

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the 175
major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a 648
hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was

175 648 726 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city, which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[714] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

195 648 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 648 727 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

> 175 more than 25 thousand inhabitants, between citizens and mer-
> chants from the outside, it is said that not a fourth remained, this
> 648 being almost all women and children, with very few men.
>
> 727 Upon the pitiful fall of this government [of Macas], the total
> ruin of the territory of Yaguarzongo followed as a consequence,
> 175 and the almost total ruin of Jaén, of which I shall tell you in
> 648 due time; and that of Loja and Quijos, which I have already reported. Even the highest and most secure provinces of the Kingdom [of Quito] experienced notable unrest on the part of the peoples upon notification of the horrendous catastrophe: it reached even to the barbaric nations of Popayan, and caused them, by its bad example, to commit the insolences and destructions to which I referred in speaking of its cities.
>
> It was a special providence of Heaven that at nightfall the triumphant barbarians unexpectedly withdrew from Sevilla del Oro, the reason being unknown, they being able to have easily consummated the slaughter of everyone. The wretched remnant, informed of all that had happened in Logroño, remained fearing the return of the barbarians at any moment; and no longer capable of resistance, they only thought of saving themselves. Small parties of children and women, with an occasional man, were leaving on foot with a thousand hardships, and without any food, to take refuge in other cities of the Kingdom; and not a single person would have stayed, if an opportune relief had not shortly arrived from Quito.[19]

Those Spaniards who stayed retreated north to the upper Río Upano Valley and founded the refugee settlement of Macas. Some years later these people of Macas (commonly referred to as Macabeos) made sorties southward to mine the old placer gold deposits, but apparently these attempts ended in failure, due to attacks by the Jívaro.[20]

From 1599 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jívaro apparently had only intermittent and generally hostile contacts with whites. Some missionary and military

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, 175
but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in 648
permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures [797]
reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when
they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which [431]
included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been [765]
killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22] [727]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants: 173

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apači* ["*ai*" white men]. 173
> They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to 829
> their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *šuarä* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the 174
knees and elbows of the *ai apači* was something like the [173]
shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such 701
status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, in- 628
stead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually 721
send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invi- 701
tation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another 721
tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-
Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram*
and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will
conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than
the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only
a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire [726]
household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing [727] •
women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred
for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to
do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond any-
thing that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* [727]
and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the [411]
attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide
a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri šuarä* [484]
inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to
travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered
case, the assistance given by a *tsumu šuarä* (Huambisa) in-
viter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass
down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huam-
bisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household
on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwišin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, 756
often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

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• 727
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[796]

21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or
lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill
the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually
[752] succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči*
fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring
the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent
invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *muisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the
727 *muisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *muisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to
enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical
ones that the head would decay if not processed in
some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents
makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous
trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as
possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps
in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal
into its skin "so that the *muisak* cannot see out," thereby

774

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "acci- 765
dental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*. 789

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first 727 •
feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at 776
least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or 796
dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights
between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak*
might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically
binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quar-
rel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly,
however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until
the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it
from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of
origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable dis- [648]
tance, because head trophies are normally taken only of mem-
bers of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women [539]
sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker 765
(although illegally in terms of Ecuador[illegible] law) to a mestizo 439
in one of the communities on the western periphery of the 789
tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats
the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neigh-
borhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-
taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility
that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose. 789

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with 774
utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As 778
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774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it
778 is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more 721
insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more 727 •
likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same 765
fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be
taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the
"hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are [774]
frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* [829]
souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation
in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a 774
tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature 825
thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree [776]
sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore
must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. [796]
At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow
manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam*
soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual [796]
precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human
tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of [784]
the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single aveng-
ing form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an 765
inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head
before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot 727
be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, 796
but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a 774
previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. 776
Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is
believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two
tsantsa celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nam-
pet*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of
the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Oc- 796
casionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the 825

628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to terminate
682 the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assassination
of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery
offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt
to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction
is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible.
They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

women of different households are continually circulating 682
among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under 562
such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of 278
the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the [727]
dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her
brother is marked for death.

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure 682
a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's sur- 756
vivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the
shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the
fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he
cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman
avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he
were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party.

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother 682
or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's 593
wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common 441
approach to administering the punishment is for the ag-
grieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without
actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or [701]
distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and
carry out the assassination.

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by 754
physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to 683
witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is
that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity [682]
of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is [756]
desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient
hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, nor- 684
mally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punish-
ment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists
of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
587 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his
593 eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If
the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest
brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest
son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the
eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting
material possessions, should distribute some of his
new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass
puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common
684 offense since there is great competition for recent widows.
If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to
her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male
parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother
or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the
deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the
household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the
[628] abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense
and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings
and feuds.

685 A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
428 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor
593 mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things
[587] to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common.
685 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
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685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
• 727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
[674] *untsuri šuarä*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an addi-
tional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly,
428 however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that
423 he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes
feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture
women. No case could be found of war being pursued
to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection
of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding,
and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
• [727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e.,
have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the
assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood
within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the
taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a
tsantsa with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type
of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a
closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population
is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he
asks an *untä* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a
[342] new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually
taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara
neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most
likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea*
declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This
[829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on
[226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are
[251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are
[727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them
fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the
624 expedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untä*. There may be two war chiefs if the
neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the
[554] expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s)
is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other
members of the party, but only for the duration of the
expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as
rigorous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party
[787] who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and
therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is
invariably excused from such participation. In the actual
attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors
are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their
advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
703 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
602 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
628 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another
726 expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize
a large force despite the fact that many of its members may
be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the
ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the
past.

With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien tribe's region, strict silence is maintained and scouts are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, snake back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hostiles. The main body of men follows the scouts, but simply keeps to the trail itself. 726

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the scouts remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs lean-to's and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 A.M., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 2 or 3 A.M., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the scout outpost, the scouts are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former scouts go back down the trail to sleep in the lean-to's where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the scouts find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is [411] attacked, but sometimes two may be assaulted simultaneously, and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. 727 A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive 583 to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy.

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambisa attacked his house in the Río Yaupi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in
form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate
rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the
expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of
such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsaŋram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal
from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the
infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of
steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's
skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest,
shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own
woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth
and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has
no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *čičipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot
beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery
[776] cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda.
The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise 765 "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned 765 inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a 532 knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in 727 the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. 778 A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kumaí* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with [774] finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *muisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight
aperture which may remain.

765 A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
• 727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest
within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the
first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the
head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in
the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a
doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick
of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s
house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
796 man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with
[554] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara.
[342] The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in
his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell
them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebra-
tion (*numpeŋ*) which is held at the newly built house of the
wea.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his
tsantsa, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for in-
spection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and
smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent
smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid,
the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows,
is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors,
and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the
tsantsa celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious
ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers 727
return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations 796
for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will
host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food 244
are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally 574
has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to
plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these [231]
two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no
sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing
and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as
for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting.
Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a [342]
new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often
two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men 727
who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long 796
distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or
ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic 805
system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able 824
to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests 765
at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might
be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each 224
hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same 574
stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for
the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully
ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration.
The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk
to those invited guests living at some distance so that they,
too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a 574
month later, by the third feast (*napin*). This is the largest of 796
all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days.
He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the 765
[727]

578
765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
796 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
[774] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been
[778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge
and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although
[554] less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
[624] by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a
[562] basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual,
and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
765 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
796 the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
• 727 feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of
their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing
[619] and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[571] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
[181] common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria
[533] of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
[535] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:
[539]

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Cuwi[3] tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Cuwi tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose participants
721 and their relatives have a vested interest in the maintenance
441 of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives
of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own
tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The
Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading
system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the
Jívaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed
[712] palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round
[714] wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are
likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial
[727] feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency
as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking
raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few decades
342 have been influenced primarily by the adoption of firearms
411 for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from
which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by
attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers
untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438
• [727] a successful head-hunting raid.

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only
178 women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
278 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
411 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
824

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 • 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.